

THE

L I F E

Salisbury (J.) Earl of Stair
O F

R
John Earl of STAIR,

C O N T A I N I N G

His Birth and Education; his Negotiations at *Warsaw, Paris* and the *Hague*; the Articles of the Union, and of the Peace of *Utrecht*; his magnificent Entry into *Paris*, with his Speeches and Memorials to the *French King* and Regent; with a full Account of all the Battles and Sieges, particularly that of *Dettingen*, in which his Lordship was engaged; the Spring of the Rebellions 1715, 1719, and 1745; a very curious Incident relating to Lord *Lovat's* Conduct during these Periods, not yet made Publick;

T H E W H O L E

Interpersed with the Characters of some remarkable Persons, among whom that of the young *Chevalier*.

L O N O N :

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T O H I S
R O Y A L H I G H N E S S
T H E
Duke of C U M B E R L A N D,

This Life of *John* late Earl of
Stair is dedicated, with the
profoundest Respect and Submis-
sion, by

His R O Y A L H I G H N E S S ' S

Most obliged,

Most Humble,

and Most devoted Servant,

The A U T H O R.

ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

Duke of CUMBERLAND

ERRATA:

PAGE 17. Line 21. for memorable, read remarkable. P. 24.
l. 24. for 1695 r. 1697. P. 62. l. 4. after so, r. grasp at.
P. 67. l. 16. after hurt & this Instant being marked, was found
to be the precise Time when his Grandfather's Head was struck off.
P. 129. l. 16. after Lieutenant r. Colonel.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS

Most obliged

M. G. Hamble

and Most devoted Servant

The Author



THE
L I F E
O F
John Earl of STAIR.



JOHN DALRYMPLE Earl of *Stair*,
was eldest Son of *John* Viscount af-
terwards Earl of *Stair*, by *Elizabeth*
Dundas's Daughter to Sir *John Dun-*
dass of *Newliston*.

As I have taken upon me to write the
Memoirs of this great Man's Life, I hope it
will not be improper to give an Account of
the Family from whence he was descended,
and which he so long represented with Ho-
nour; that so the Reader may at once be-
hold

The Life of

hold the Portrait of a Hero, whose numerous Qualifications and Virtues, both in the Cabinet and in the Field, might have added a Lustre to any Advantages that could be deriv'd from the noblest Ancestors. In the several Stations of his Life he shone, and gradually rose in the Esteem, and procured the Admiration of all who knew him. Here I might invoke a Spirit of Force and Truth for enriching of these Memoirs, with such lively and natural Images as might best represent his Virtues, and persuade all, into whose Hands they may come, to follow his Example. With what grand and noble Ideas could I then fill the Mind of my Reader; and what Impression would I not make upon his Heart by the Recital of so many instructive and glorious Actions? How hard is it to say which of his illustrious Deeds shone with the brightest Splendor? Glorious were the Effects of his military Virtue! His leading of Armies, Sieges of Places, taking of Towns, crossing of Rivers, passing Defiles in the Face of an Enemy, vigorous Attacks, honourable Retreats, Advantagious Encampments, Fights sustain'd, Battels gain'd; Armies vanquished by his Force, broke by his Dexterity and Address, wearied out and consumed by his Patience and Conduct. Where can we find so many and so revalent Examples, except in the Actions of a wise, a modest, a liberal and disinterested Patriot,

Patriot, devoted to the Service of his King and Country ; great in Adversity by his Courage, in Prosperity by his Self-denial, in Difficulties by his Prudence, in Dangers by his Valour, and in Religion by his Love to Mankind ? How did this illustrious Person conquer the Enemies of the State by his Resolution, the Passions of his Soul by his Wisdom, the Errors and Vanities of the Age by his Understanding ? In mentioning him we name the greatest of Generals, the wisest of Statesmen, and the best Member of Society in private Life. If his Life had less Lustre and Splendor in it, I should dwell sometime on the Greatness and Nobleness of his House, of which I am only to give but a short and concise Abridgement ; and, if the Figure which he made in the various Scenes of Life had not been so conspicuous, I should have exhibited to the Publick the Lives of his Ancestors. Great indeed was his Birth, yet it was effaced by the glory of his Actions ; and the least of his Praise is to be descended from an ancient Family, that always shone in the polite and learned World.

The Name of *Dalrymple* *, properly speaking, is from an *Irish* Original, being so named from a Barony in the County of Kyle, called *Dalrymple*, where *Coilus* the first King

* (*Daal*) i. e. Meadow ; (*Rie plein*) i. e. full of Kings.

King of the *Brittons*, fought with *Fergus* the first King of the *Scots*, and was killed upon the Spot. The first remarkable Person of the Family of *Dalrymple* was one *Adam de Dalrymple*, who lived in the Reign of *Alexander* the third, about the Year 1268; he was a Gentleman of uncommon Parts and deep Penetration. From him to the Time of *Robert* the third, in the Year 1396, the several Representatives of the Family intermixed with very considerable People, and augmented their Estates; but the Riches which they had procured were so far from hindering their Pursuit of Knowledge, that this very Circumstance, which is an Obstacle to others, served only to excite them the more to make a Figure in the learned World: For *James de Dalrymple* was Secretary to King *Robert* the third; and, so well did he discharge the Trust reposed in him by his Royal Master, that his Son, King *James* the first, after his Return from an eighteen Years Captivity in *England*, took particular Notice of him, and honoured him with the most important Places; which he filled to the Satisfaction of the King, the Honour of his Native Country, and to the Admiration of all who were Witnesses of his Prudence and Conduct.

After the tragical Death of that Prince, his Son, *James* the Second, a Boy of seven Years of Age, mounted the Throne; and, being

being under the Tutorage of Guardians, the most conspicuous Men in the Kingdom, for Wisdom and Experience, were appointed by the States for the Management of his Affairs: And, as at that Time the *Scots* were in League with the *French* Nation, the Man of the greatest Abilities and Address was named as Ambassador to that Court; the Person of the acutest Parts, and longest Practice in true Policy, was *John de Dalrymple*, Son of the former *James*. He set out from *Scotland* with a numerous Retinue, made a very splendid Appearance at *Paris*, and accomplished the Design on which he was sent; namely, to procure *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Guelders*, in Marriage for his Royal Master, so soon as he should come of Age. The Figure which he made was truly great, and yet but little when compared to the Conduct of the Subject of these Memoirs, who made *Europe* resound with the Fame of his dextrous Policy at the Court of *Versailles*. One Thing is remarkable, that the critical Juncture† when the first and last Ambassador, of the Name of *Dalrymple*, appeared at the Court of *France*, much resembled each other.

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In

† They both were sent after a Rebellion; for, in the first Man's Time, a Pretender to the Crown had been disappointed, so far as to be put to Death with the most exquisite Tortures, for the barbarous Murder of his Nephew; the latter made his splendid Appearance after the Intrigues of the House of *Bourbon* were totally baffled for the old Chevalier.

In a Word, during the several Reigns, the Family of *Dalrymple* appeared in eminent Stations, and shewed the distinguishing Symptoms of a greatness of Soul that entitled them to the Esteem and Confidence of their Kings, while it procured them the Love and Approbation of their fellow Subjects.

At the Reformation, *James Dalrymple* of *Stair* was a zealous Patriot, and strenuously insisted for promoting of it.

But, not to dwell any longer upon ancient Genealogies, I shall proceed to an Account of the first Viscount, and to the first Earl of *Stair*, the Grandfather and Father of the deceased Lord. The former was bred at the University, and, being only a younger Brother, was trained up for a liberal Employment. He made a considerable Progress in all the Branches of Learning at that Time in repute; and had scarce finished his Course of Philosophy, and was made Master of Arts, when an Opportunity offered of giving particular Marks of his Progress in Learning. A Vacancy happened in the College of *Glasgow*, and, according to the usual Custom of those Days, the Place was advertised to be filled up by a comparative Trial. On the Day appointed, several Candidates gave in their Names, among whom was Mr. *James Dalrymple*; who so far excelled the other Competitors in syllogistick Reasoning, and explaining some Portions of Greek Authors

thors, that he was preferred to the Charge. He continued some Years in this Station, and obtained the highest Reputation for the Brightness of his Genius, acuteness of his Reasoning, (and which indeed is the principal Thing) for the easy communicative Way of his extensive Knowledge. He afterwards applied to the Study of the Law, which last Branch of Learning becomes very easy to such as are trained up in metaphysical Disputes and Distinctions. He was scarce entered an Advocate, till he procured the Admiration and Esteem both of the Bench and of the Bar. In a few Years he was made a Lord of Session †, and afterwards President of that Court. It was during this Time that he composed that learned Treatise, commonly known by the Name of *Stair's Institutions*; in which the several Parts of the Municipal Law of *Scotland* are laid down, with such Exactness and Clearness, as to be appealed to on all Occasions. He continued in this Station till the late Revolution, in which he had a Principal, I had almost said the greatest hand; for, when the Convention of Estates

† This is a Court consisting of a President and fourteen Ordinary Lords, six of whom are appointed for the Trial of criminal Matters; it was instituted by King *James V. of Scotland*, April 24th 1532. The Appointment of this Court seemed rather for the Conveniency of the Judges than of the Subjects; for before this Time, the Places of Sederunt were ambulatory, but now they are fixed.

states met at *Edinburgh*, on King *James's* deserting the Throne, and the Prince of *Orange* emitting his Declarations, a Letter was produced before them from the Prince, and another from the Royal Fugitive. There was a very hot Debate, for four Hours, upon this Question, Which of the two should first be read? Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Rosebaugh* the King's Advocate, with the Viscount of *Tarbot*, the Earls of *Marischal*, *Linlithgow* and *Errol*, strenuously insisted upon reading the latter; but the Lord President answered the whole of their Arguments, to the Admiration of all who heard him. He pointed out the reciprocal Duty of King and Subjects, that the Obligations on both Sides were mutual, from the Nature of Things, and the Constitution of human Societies. He shewed, when any Prince ceased to be a King, the People ceased to be his Subjects. He told them, very plainly, That, as King *James* had deserted the Throne, he was no longer actual King; and, consequently, the Subjects of *Britain* were loosed from their Allegiance to him: And, in the Course of the Reasoning, he invented the Expression, *abdicated the Crown*. After a full Debate, the Vote was put, Read the Prince of *Orange's* or the King's Letter first? It was carried, by a Majority of three Voices, to read the former; upon which the Earl of *Linlithgow* protested against their Decision, and desired

fired the same to be marked, and was seconded only by one Gentleman, who was a Member for the Borough of *Nairn*, in the North of *Scotland*; but the other Noblemen and Gentlemen, Favourers of King *James*, left the House.

The Revolution being brought about, so conscious was King *William* of the great Abilities to advance, and of the unshaken Loyalty of the Lord President to maintain his Person and Government, that he made him Secretary of State, and created him Viscount of *Stair*; in which Office he did the most real Service to his Royal Master: Nor can his Enemies, justly, lay any Thing to his Charge; for the Massacre of the People in *Glenco* was not owing to him, but to Lieutenant Colonel *James Hamilton*, who signed the Orders to Major *Duncanson*, and he to Captain *John Campbell*, who put them in Execution, with particular Marks of Horror, against these People; who, tho' they had enraged the *Campbells*, by their Obstinacy, yet, in the Nature of Things, deserved no such inhuman Treatment.

He continued in the Service of the Government till the Year 1695, when he died, leaving behind him five Sons; *John* his eldest, of whom hereafter, *James* afterwards Sir *James*, *Hugh* afterwards Sir *Hugh*, Lord President of the Session, *Thomas* and *David*, who was afterwards Knighted and made Lord Advocate for
Scotland,

Scotland, In a Word, there was not in the Nation such an illustrious Race of Sons, each of whom moved splendidly in their several Spheres, and obtained Honours and Titles from their Royal Master.

Nor was this great Man, the first Viscount of *Stair*, the sole Champion of the Family of *Dalrymple* for Liberty, in the Days of the tyrannical and arbitrary Government of King *Charles II.* and King *James*; for his Son, Sir *John*, was remarkably eminent for espousing the Cause of the distressed; as in the Case of *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, 1681, who was, contrary to Humanity itself, indicted before the Court of Justiciary for explaining an Oath called, the *Test*, tho' this was the Crime of almost the whole Episcopal Clergy. In this Debate, Sir *John* was so far an overmatch for Sir *George Mackenzie*, that the Court endeavoured from that Time, to gain over so powerful an Adversary: And, in the Year 1686, he was made Lord Advocate; for Sir *George's* Conduct was scarce to be defended by his most sincere and intimate Friends*; so that, unless King *James* had an Intention

* One Instance of his Severity appears in the Case of Mr *Haxton* of *Rathillet*. to whom Sir *George* put the Question, Where was you on the 3d May 1679? I don't, replied *Rathillet*, keep a Register of the Places where I may be upon particular Days. You must be a great Liar, answered Sir *George*, in saying, that you do not remember where you was on so remarkable

Intention to act in the most bare-faced Manner, it was impossible to retain him. During the Advocatship of Sir *John*, there was a great Relaxation from the oppressive and tyrannical Measures formerly pursued, which was the Occasion of his being removed after two Years Incumbency ; for, as the Tyrant was minded to imitate his Cousin *Lewis XIV.* in that unheard of, that horrid and abominable Cruelty, viz. the Massacre of the Protestants, he thought proper to get rid of a Gentleman of Sir *John's* Prudence and Moderation. Sir *George* was restored to his Employment, in hopes of complying more than ever with the most barbarous Measures, in order to reconcile himself the more thoroughly to his disobliged Master, and his *Italian* Queen. Short lived, however, was his Power ; for the arbitrary Procedure of the Tyrant procured him an universal *Odium* ; his Parliament, his Privy Council, his Army, his Children and Servants deserted him at once : Nor, in the whole Isle of *Great Britain* had he a single Regiment of Men to stand by him, except

a Day ; you must, replied *Rathillet*, be a far greater Liar for thwarting my Words ; on which *Perth*, the Chancellor, interposed, and corrected *Mackenzie's* mistake. Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviswood*, when tried upon the pretended Rye House-Plot, told him, that he had one Conscience for private Matters, and another for the Publick : And Sir *Hugh Campbell* of *Cesnock* charged him with Subornation of Witnesses, and proved him guilty of the Crime.

except the *Macdonalds* of *Glenzary*, *Clannanald* and *Glenco*, the *Camerons*, *McNeils*, *McLeans*, the *Stewarts* of *Appin*, the *McGregors*, and a few more desperate Persons, whose Names may be remembered with Horror by the *Scottish* Nation as oft as they chance to be mentioned ; for the whole Country are blamed for the Crimes that are only chargeable upon them : And sure no Nation upon Earth has suffered more, from the Inhabitants of its Skirts and Isles, than the Body of the *Scottish* Nation has done from these tumultuary Clans ; for, abstracting from their Rebellions, which abound in the *Scots* History, they were, in the Days of King *Charles II.* employed to put in Execution, the most barbarous and bloody Orders upon the Inhabitants of the Western Counties.

No sooner was the stupendious Revolution brought about, and a Resolution entered into, by the States of *Scotland*, of acknowledging King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for their right and lawful Sovereigns, than a Deputation was sent to *London*, to offer the Crown of *Scotland* to their Majesties. Sir *John Dalrymple* was one of the Delegates, who were introduced to the Royal Pair, and met with a most gracious Reception ; and, on the 11th *April* 1689, the very Day of their Coronation in *England*, and of their Proclamation in *Scotland*, they presented the Act of Settlement to them ; and, on the 11th
May

May following, tendered to them the Coronation Oath, which was distinctly pronounced, Word by Word, by *Archibald* then Earl of *Argyle* *, while their Majesties repeated the Sentences after him, holding up their right Hands all the while, according to the Custom of *Scotland*. Upon their Return, their Conduct was unanimously approved by the States, and the People testified their Satisfaction with the loudest Acclamations. He was made Lord Advocate in the Year 1690, then Lord Justice Clerk, and next Year Secretary of State; and, in each of these, he shone with an unparelled Lustre, adorning the Robes which he wore. He succeeded his Father *anno* 1695; and, *anno* 1703, was created an Earl by Queen *Anne*, and made one of the Privy Council. He was one of the Commissioners for settling the Union with *England*, and had a principal Hand in completing that noble and excellent Work, so advantageous to both Nations, and so beneficial to the protestant Interest Abroad. He was elected one of the sixteen Peers for representing the Nobility of *Scotland*, in the first *British* Parliament that was appointed

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* This Nobleman, afterwards Duke, was eldest Son of that Earl of *Argyle* who was beheaded *anno* 1685. He was acknowledged Earl by the Parliament, before they took of the Attainder against his father, which, by the Claim of Right, was declared a Reproach to the Nation.

to meet, *anno* 1707 ; but, dying in *January* that Year, his Seat became vacant, so he did not enjoy what he so well deserved, and had been so instrumental in promoting. A malicious and wicked Report was artfully propagated by the Enemies of their Country, that this Nobleman laid violent Hands on himself ; but People, who were with him in the House at the Time of his Death, have declared, in the most solemn Manner, that the Aspersions were false, calumnious and wicked. To him succeeded *John* Earl of *Stair*, the Subject of these Memoirs ; a Nobleman in whom all the Virtues of his Ancestors centred, and these were carried to the greatest Pitch, without any Tincture of the opposite Vices, into which sometimes the Want of proper Oeconomy is apt to make them degenerate. Of him I am now to treat, and hope to make it clear, that, in every respect, his Name ought to be transmitted with Savour to Posterity, whether we consider him as a Soldier, a Statesman, or a private Member of Society.

Field Marshal *John* Earl of *Stair* was born upon the 20th *July* 1673, and, while an Infant, discovered even such Charms as prognosticated his future Greatness ; a Disposition to every thing that was manly and Praise-worthy, always appeared in him : He mustered up a Regiment of young Boys, of his own Age, whom he disciplined in the Manner of regular Troops, and denominated

denominated them after his own Name. 'Twas surprizing to observe, in how short a Time they were enabled to go through the several Evolutions of the military Exercise, and their Alacrity when under the Eye of their great Commander ; a sure Prelude of that superior Greatness of Soul that afterwards appeared in him, and procured him the Confidence of the King and Admiration of his Country. Like another *Cyrus*, he discouraged every thing that was dastardly and unbecoming in the young Gentlemen of his own Age, and, with the utmost Address, encouraged what was manly, becoming and virtuous in them. He even determined Cases that were brought before him, and the Deference paid to his superior Judgment was a sure Indication, both of the Respect which they bore him, and of the Authority and Influence which one Day he was to have among the Nobility of his Time. Scarce was he arrived at the Age of ten Years, when he had made the most surprizing Progress in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues ; and being well acquainted with these, the *French* became easy to him. He was trained up by a Governor for some Years, and then put to the College of *Edinburgh*, under a Guardian. He assiduously plied his Studies, and soon became conspicuous among the Students ; and so truly great and noble was his Behaviour and Deportment to his several Masters,

under whose Inspection he was, that they payed more Respect and Regard to him than to any of the Nobility.

He was past the whole of his Courses, at the College, in the fourteenth Year of his Age, and was designed by his Father for the Law ; but, his Genius being turned for the Sword, he applied himself that Way. He left the College of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1688 ; but did not separate from that Mother of Sciences, till he made her an handsome Present, and entered as a *Civis Bibliothecæ*, or Member of the Library, and his Name remains upon Record.

He went over to *Holland*, where he first began to carry Arms ; and the Rudiments of the noble Art of War could he have learned under no greater Commander than the illustrious King *William III.* then Prince of *Orange*. He passed through the several Degrees of Preferment under the Eye of that distinguished and august Commander. He did not rise by the Sport of Fortune, nor yet by the Crimes or Follies of a Court ; but on the Firm Basis of Merit, being recommended by a long tried Faith, and the sacred Ties of an inviolable Friendship. He was furnished with great Occasions of evidencing his vast Abilities ; Fights, Sieges, Battles, sudden Revolutions, and grand Events ; his Employments carried him to different Countries ; Victory generally followed his Standard,

dards, and Glory never abandoned him. If he had never been conquered, his Merit of conquering had even been less, since, in either Case, is displayed the Bravery of the Soldier, and Conduct of the Officer; and, without any Distinction of good or bad Success, he appears to me still the same in *Britain, Holland, Germany, Poland, France, Brabant and Flanders*.

France admired, during his first Campaign, a Valour that one Day was to prove so fatal to her, and which was to be improved at the Siege of *Venlo* and *Liege*, the Passage of the *Mayne*, the March from *Aschaffenberg* to *Hanau*, the Battle of *Dettingen*; Exploits sufficient to enoble any Hero, unless the Glory of an hundred other Wonders, both in his Military and political Capacity, had raised him even above himself, and cast so lively and dazzling a Splendor, as to efface the Memory of these memorable Actions.

Tho' the Prince of *Orange* had no Occasion to fight against the *French*, at the Time the illustrious Subject of these Memoirs entered into his Service; yet his distinguished Capacity was soon taken Notice of by that quick sighted and consummate Captain. He shewed him great Respect in the Sight of his Officers, and treated him with the Affection and Tendernefs of a Father; and, as the Family of *Stair* were deeply interested in the Revolution, and kept up a Correspondence

with the Prince of *Orange*. His Highness took particular Notice of so promising a Youth, who was in all the Secrets of the Revolution-Party. 'Twas here that the noble Lord learned Fortification and Gunnery, which he afterwards so well improved, under the Eye of the famous *Coeborn*, and laid the Foundation of that free and disinterested Spirit which he breathed in every Air, and practised in every Clime, for the Service of his Country. 'Twas here he learned several of the Languages of *Europe*, such as, *French*, *Spanish*, *German*, *Italian* and *Dutch*; every one of which he spoke in such Purity, that one could not distinguish his Dialect from that of a Native of each Country, and would have been tempted to think, he was born in the Metropolis, which generally excels any other Places of the Kingdom wherein it stands, as much in the Elegance of Accent, as in the Politeness of Behaviour and Fashion of their Habit and Dress.

At the Time of the late glorious Revolution, he came over to *Scotland*, and, in so particular a Manner laid down the Hardships of the Protestants, as to draw Compassion from all who heard him; and, by a just Representation of the Design of the House of *Bourbon*, which, at that Time, he could so shrewdly guess at, confirmed those who were already engaged for the Prince of *Orange*, in the good Opinion they had formed
of

of his Cause, and prevailed upon others to embark in the Scheme. In a Word, he did the most substantial Services: For, being with his Father and Grandfather at the Convention of States, he seconded their Arguments with the most nervous Reasoning; and, like another *Gustavus*, moved the Passions of the Audience, who were charmed to see such a noble Tendernefs, and unaffected sympathy in a young Man, whose Gesture and Mein commanded Admiration from all who heard him.

He was among the first to declare for King *William*; and, with Joy to receive the Deliverer of the Nation, went up, with his Father, to *London*, where he was known by the King, and taken into his Service, and continued with him till his Departure for *Ireland* in the Year 1690; and landed with him at *Carickfergus*, where he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy: From thence his Majesty went to *Belfast*, where he was welcomed by the Duke of *Schomberg*, and other great Commanders, and that with all expressible Compliments of the highest Satisfaction. Mr. *Dalrymple*, all this Time, accompanied his Sovereign, and made a considerable Figure in his Retinue; was with him at the Battle of the *Boyne*: But, as many particular Descriptions have been given of it, I shall say nothing but of what concerns the deceas'd Lord. He continued with him
as

as one of his Life-guards ; and acted the most heroic Part, at that Time, that possibly could have been expected from the most enterprising Officer. About thirty Officers, of King *James's* Life-guard, desperately broke in to make an Attack on the King's Life ; but were all cut in Pieces, except five Persons, who, endeavouring to escape through the Village, where, meeting the Duke of *Schomberg*, but slenderly attended, he was there slain with a Pistol-shot in the Neck, and several Wounds on the Head with a Sword, fell from his Horse without uttering a Word. He was along with the King when, with some Squadrons of Horse, and seventeen Battalions of Foot, he succoured that Part of the Army which was so much engaged with the *French* Forces, which the Grand Monarch had sent over to the Assistance of the fugitive King. The Scale was quickly turned, and the Enemy were made to give back in the utmost Confusion ; these hardy Veterans being put to the Rout, the *Irish* fled off, leaving their Arms regimentally placed on the Ground. He attended the King on his Return to *England*, and continued with him till his Departure for *Holland*, on the 6th of *January* 1691 ; but, as the Winds proved contrary, he was obliged to return to *Kensington*, where he staid for some few Days, till the breaking of the Frost ; when he went to *Gravesend*, and, with a
Convoy

Convoy of Men of War, stood to the Coast of *Holland*; where, coming off the *Goree*, he left the Yacht wherein he was, went off with three Shallops, in Company with the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Steward and Lord High Chamberlain, the Earls of *Portland* and *Monmouth*, Mynheers *Overkirk* and *Zuleskein*: But, through the Difficulties of the Ice, that came down in Shoals, and the Fogginess of the Weather, they remained at Sea all Night; arrived at the *Goree* about eight o' Clock next Morning. Here he took a small Refreshment; and immediately took Boat again, and landed at *Oramenback*, where he was met and complimented by the Deputies of the States; and then passed to the *Hague*, where the Populace raised the most joyful Acclamations, while he entered through the triumphal Arches erected in Honour of the Wonders he had done, and the Blessings he had procured already, and those expected from his future Conduct, both to them, and to their Sister-people of *Britain*; whom he had relieved from utter Ruin, just when the Popish Tyrant, more inhuman than the *Egyptian Pharaoh*, had said: "I will divide the Spoil, my Lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will draw my Sword, my Hand shall destroy them." Never was Prince more regaled than King *William III.* and never were those in the Retinue of a King more carested than those who attended

attended the Hero: Nor were the States General single in paying him their Compliments; for Ambassadors arrived from several Courts in *Germany*, to congratulate him on his Success, and to enter into new Engagements with him for supporting of the Liberties of *Europe*; to which they were animated by the lively Representation, made by his Majesty, of the critical Juncture of Affairs; and came into the Resolution of raising 222,000 Men against *France*, whereof 20,000 were to be raised from the national *British* Forces.

As these Regiments were to be raised, his Majesty conferred a Colonel's Commission upon the deceas'd Lord, 9th *May*, anno 1692. Never was a Regiment better disciplined, or more regularly kept than his; for, with the Compassion of a Father, would he treat the Soldiers, while he acted the Part of the most generous Benefactor and Patron to the Subaltern-officers. In a Word, he procured their Esteem and Admiration to such a Degree, that they waited only to receive his Orders, which were scarce given but forthwith they were obeyed. He served under this great Commander at the Battle of *Steenkirk*, where the *English* Bravery shone with the brightest Lustre; for, tho' they could not force a Camp fortified by Hedges, and lined by Cannon advantageously posted upon Eminencies, yet they cut off the Flower of the
French

French Troops, with five hundred Officers, who lay dead upon the Spot.

But, among those who engaged, none distinguished himself more than the deceas'd Lord. He several Times rallied his Regiment, when the Ranks were broken by the devouring Cannon, and brought them back to the Charge; performed Miracles of Bravery with them, and was instrumental in saving many Troops from being cut in Pieces, as he stopped the Pursuit till they had time to rally, and renew the Attack.

Though the Allies were unsuccessful in *Flanders*, yet they carried all before them in the Main. At *La Hague*, the *French* Fleet was almost destroyed, and her Trade, by Means of several large Captures taken from her, in a Manner, wholly ruined. At *Landen* there was a second Battle; and, though it be true, that the King of *England* was obliged to yield the Field to Numbers, yet he had more Glory than even if Victory had crowned his Standards. The Misfortune of *Landen*, indeed, happened through the Fault of a strange Officer; but, could it be more gloriously, and more advantageously repaired, than by that admirable Presence of Mind, with which King *William* saved the Rest of the Army? In time of Trouble, into which such Disorders throw an ordinary General, People usually look upon the bringing the shattered Remains of the routed Army

my, who were saved in the Fight, toward the Frontiers of their own Country, as an uncommon Stroke of Prudence ; but this illustrious Hero, whose Views were always more extended, and more just than those of other Men, made them rendezvous upon the Borders of the Enemy ; favoured the Retreat of his Forces, fighting as he gave back, more like a Conqueror than like one that was vanquished, obliging, by this March and Resolution, several Princes of *Germany* to join their Troops to his own : And commanded, some time after, at the famous Siege of *Namur*, where Fortune seconded so well his Efforts for gaining the Place, in Sight of the whole *French* Army, commanded by one of the most experienced Officers of the Time, that she deserved to be pardoned for the Injustice of having abandoned him at the Commencement of the Campaign ; and, as by her Frowns she protracted the War, so, by this one Smile, she ended it, to the Honour and Satisfaction of the Allies ; and brought on the Peace of *Ryswick* 1695.

Short lived, however, was this Repose, after so long and terrible a Commotion ; for the Flame of War was not extinguished, but only covered by some political Ashes, that were thrown upon the Heart of the Grand Monarch, who waited for a plausible Pretext of setting Fire to the Coals, which seemed to be wholly quenched.

Charles

Charles II. who was then King of *Spain*, being in a very bad State of Health, and having no male Issue of his own Body, was in great Perplexity about settling the Succession to his hereditary Dominions; on the one Hand, he preferred the Interest of his own Family to that of the House of *Bourbon*, from whom both he and his Ancestors had received so many Injuries; and was strongly solicited by his Queen, who was Sister to the Empress, and by the Ministers of the Emperor, to dispose of his Dominions in favours of the Arch Duke *Charles*, his second Son: On the other Hand, the Partisans of *France*, who were about his Catholick Majesty, were artfully insinuating to him, the Expediency and Advantage that would accrue to *Spain* in particular, and to the Catholick Religion in general, should the former be settled under the Protection of the most Christian King. The Renunciations of his Aunt and Sister, the one Mother, the other Wife, to *Lewis XIV.* were demonstrated by them to be null by the Laws of *Spain*; and, consequently, that the Article, of giving up all Pretensions to the *Spanish* Succession, in the Partition-treaty, was, *ipso facto*, void to all Intents and Purposes: For, that no Forms whatever were sufficient to alter the Nature of Things. These Arguments would have had but little Force, if a more cogent had not been advanced, *viz.* That, as this Point was dubious,

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there was fear of stirring up the greatest Powers against one another, and that this might be the Instrument of much Bloodshed ; for which, added these crafty Statesmen, you will be answerable at a higher Tribunal, whether your Guilt be contracted by delaying to set your House in Order, or by a rash and unjust Disposal of your Dominions.

These Arguments much distracted the Mind of the King, who had Recourse to the usual Way of those of the *Romish* Communion, viz. to ask the Pope's Advice in this perplexed and intricate Matter. The Holy Father, and his Conclave of Cardinals, determined in favour of *France* ; and the Ministers of that Court at *Madrid*, did all in their Power to bring to Perfection the darling Project, of putting *Spain*, and the *Indies*, into the Hands of their Monarch : And, so artfully did they contrive the Business, as, by large Promises, and well placed Sums, to gain over the principal Favourites at Court ; some do not even scruple to say, that, when the Will was presented to the *Spanish* Monarch to be signed, in favour of the Archduke *Charles*, a younger Branch of the House of *Austria*, just as he was about to take the Pen in his Hand, some Chicanery or other was made use of to cause him turn about, which, while he did, another was instantly substituted in its Place, and subscribed by him. Short while did the *Spanish*

nish Monarch survive this last Deed ; for he died in about a Fortnight after, viz. November 1st. 1700.

Scarce is King *Charles* out of this World, when a Letter was written by the Regency, at the Head of which was the artful Cardinal *Portocarre*, intimating the same, by a Letter, to his Most Christian Majesty ; who told the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Marquis *de Castel dos Rios*, that he was very sorry for the Loss which *Europe* in General, and *Spain* in particular, had sustained by the Loss of so great a King : And, though he had all possible Intentions to gratify the Wishes of the *Spanish* Nation, in sending the Duke of *Anjou* among them as their Sovereign, according to their ardent Desire (for which he heartily thank'd them) ; yet the ticklish State of Affairs of *Europe*, at that Time, would not admit of making too hasty a Step in so important an Affair ; but that, on every Occasion, he was ready to promote the Interest and Glory of the *Spanish* Nation.

These Speeches were none other than the Result of a Craft, contracted from a Series of State-policy drawn from a long Experience. His Deeds contradicted his Words ; for he took such particular Care, to keep the grand Event a Secret from the Imperial Ambassador, that strict Orders were dispatched to all Postmasters, not to supply any one whatever with Horses, without express Permission from Court.

Court. In the mean time a Cabinet-Council, composed of his principal Ministers, was sitting; and these, after long Reasoning and Argument, gave their Opinion, for accepting the Will, and acknowledging his Grandson, the Duke of *Anjou*, as universal Monarch of all the *Spanish* Dominions; which was instantly done: And, by Means of Gold, of Promises and Threats, their Conduct was followed by most of the Courts of *Europe*; that of *Vienna* only excepted, with the *Swiss* Cantons and *Grisons*, who have felt the heavy Weight of the *Spanish* Yoke; which makes them look with Horror upon any Prospect of a Master, either from the elder or younger Branch of the House of *Bourbon*.

He mustered up his Forces, and augmented his Troops, to be the better prepared against any Attempt that might be made by the Court of *Vienna*, who was now, in her Turn, using her Efforts, for supporting the Claim of her House. She pressed the Members of the Empire, to support her Claim. A Grand Alliance was formed against *France*, upon the 17th of *September* 1701, between the Emperor, the King of *Great Britain*, the States General, and several Princes of the Empire. This Alliance, though very formidable in itself, was yet insufficient to make Head against the House of *Bourbon*, considering the Force of the Powers who sided with

with her, if her Members had not been divided among themselves. There were many Friends, both in *Spain*, at *Naples* and *Milan*, and in the other Dominions of that Monarchy, who were ready to declare for the Interest of the House of *Austria*, whenever she should seem in a Condition to support them.

The Allies prepared for War in good earnest. The Emperor, having ended the War with the *Turks*, by the Peace of *Carlowick*, purposed to have an Army of 86,000 Men, including the Auxiliaries to be sent from several Princes of the Empire. *England* and *Holland* followed his Example; and sensibly affected the House of *Bourbon*, by preparing strong and numerous Fleets to destroy her Trade, on which subsisted her very Vitals. The Troops of *France* were in Motion on all Sides: Some considerable Corps were introduced into the Towns belonging to the Barrier of the States General, while the Duke of *Savoy* exerted his utmost Efforts in *Italy*, in Consideration of a large Subsidy of 150,000 Livres a Month, and the Post of Generalissimo, which the *French* conferred upon him. Such mighty Preparations were sufficient to awaken the Court of *Vienna*, who seemed no way puzzled to find out a Match, for so powerful an Opponent as the Duke of *Savoy*; for Princee *Eugene*, his Cousin, was sent against him. That consummate Captain set out from *Vienna* on the 28th of *April* 1701,

and arrived in a few Days at *Trent*, betwixt which Place and *Roveredo*, the Rendezvous was appointed : He quickly got them together, and directed his March toward the *Veronese*, fully resolved, to enter Sword in Hand into the State of *Milan*, which the French King had got Possession of by one of these artificial Chicaneries, so frequently to be met with in the Cabinet of *Versailles* ; for the Count *de Tbesse*, not only took Possession of *Mantua*, but also of some other Places in the *Modenese* and *Parmesan*, on Pretence they were necessary for him, in order to prevent Prince *Eugene's* passing into *Italy*. The first Place, with the Cittadel, was put into his Hands, partly through Fear of a Bombardment, and partly through the Means of a Minister, then bribed by the Court of *Versailles*, by an alluring Prospect, of having the Monthly Sum of 36,000 Crowns paid him, according to the express Promise of that Monarch : But, alas ! he failed in this, and gave the Duke of *Modena* Cause to repent of his too great and flexible Complacency.

Prince *Eugene*, by excellent Orders, which the Soldiers only wanted, to their entering upon the most difficult Task, and by his Vigilance, caused a Way to be made, of six Miles long, and above nine Feet Broad, through the Defiles which led to the Camp of the Enemy, then fixed at the *Ghiusa*, near the Lake *de Garda* ; and, in twenty-four
Hours

Hours Time, the same was effected, to the Admiration of Mr. *Catinat*, who looked upon it as a Prodigy. He had Recourse to the Artifice of dividing his Army, the better to dispute his Passage into *Italy*; but the artful Prince *Eugene* defeated his Projects, and made the Enemy retire before him. He outwitted Mr. *Catinat*; suddenly appeared along the Canal of *Bianco*, attacked and forced the Post of *Cartagnaro*, and defeated a considerable Corps at *Carpi*; whence they retreated to *Villa Bartholomea*, where, being joined by a Detachment that was posted at *Legnaro*, they afterwards abandoned that Post, not daring to wait another Action.

These Successes inspired the Imperialists with a Courage equal to the greatest Difficulties; and, tho' the *French* Army was considerably reinforced by *Villeroy*, yet they passed the *Mincio* without Opposition, got on the Banks of the *Tbiesse* by the 1st. of *August*; *Castiglione* and *Castel Guisfre* submit voluntarily, and *Cheari* opened its Gates to Prince *Eugene*, who disposed his Army in such a Manner, as to make amends for what it wanted in Numbers; which, with the Disputes that arose between the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Catinat*, and an unsuccessful attack upon the Imperial Entrenchments, wherein they lost 2000 Men and 200 Officers, rendered him capable of keeping the Field, till the Time of disposing his Troops into Winter-quarters

quarters in the *Mantuan*, which he quickly subdued except *Mantua* and *Goito*.

This Check to the *French* King's Arms in *Italy*, was only a Spur to him for prosecuting his Scheme in the *Low Countries* with the greater Vigour: For, upon the Hesitation of the States, to recognize King *Philip's* Title to the Crown of *Spain*, they seized all the Garrisons they had in the *Spanish* Towns in *Flanders*; on which both they and King *William* acquiesced, acknowledging his Right to the *Spanish* Monarchy.

Had the Designs of the Grand Monarch extended no further, than to have the *Spanish* Dominions under his Power, and subject to his Counsels; 'tis scarce to be imagined, but that Deluge of Blood, and that Infinite of Losses, would have been prevented, which were spilt and expended, on all Sides, by a tedious and destructive War. His Ambition, not confined within the Bounds of Reigning in the Continent, hurries him into the Scheme of lording it over the *Iles*; and *Britain*, that Guardian of the Liberties of *Europe*, must be reduced to the State of a Province, by becoming subject to his Views. He laid hold of the first Opportunity to break with *England*; and, on the 14th September, N. S. the Day of King *James's* Death, at *St. Germain's*, caused his pretended Son to be proclaimed King of *Great Britain*; which King *William* and the Parliament

ment so much resented, that the *British* Ambassador, at the Court of *France*, was recalled, and the *French* Resident, in Count *Tablard's* Absence, was obliged to depart the Realm.


The Question, that had long been debated, *viz.* Whether it was necessary to enter into War with *France*? was no longer doubtful: The Thing was resolved on; and, in that same Month, a grand Alliance, defensive and offensive, was concluded between the Emperor, the King and States General, in order, effectually, to thwart the Designs of *France*, and obtain full Satisfaction for each of the contracting Parties. Now, had King *William* a fair Opportunity of being avenged on the *French* Monarch; for the *British* Soldiers, who were but raw when he came to the Throne, were now hardy Veterans, and the Officers had learned the Art of War under that great Commander: But Heaven was pleased, to put an End to so valuable a Life, upon the 8th *March* 1702. This sudden Event gave a Shock to the Grand Alliance; but yet did not prove so fatal as some, at first, imagined; because the Army, tho' deprived of King *William's* Presence, were yet actuated by his Temper, and breathed nothing but a Spirit of Valour, in Imitation of his glorious Exploits.

Seven Hours after the Expiration of that Deliverer of *Europe*, *William III.* of *Orange* and of *England*,

England, the Privy Council sat; and the Queen, who was that very Day proclaimed in *London*, gave them the strongest Assurances, in a pathetick and moving Speech, of her unalterable Resolution, to pursue the Measures taken by her glorious Predecessor. The Members of the Privy Council were continued, and King *William's* Favourites were only preferred. The Duke of *Marlborough* was appointed General of her Forces, by the late King's Recommendation *; and sent over to *Holland*, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with her Letter to the States, condoling them upon the Death of the King, and declaring her Inclinations to maintain all her Alliances, preserve the Liberties of *Europe*, and reduce the Power of *France*.

While in *Holland*, his Grace managed Affairs so dextrously, that all his Proposals were accepted, the Confederacy was confirmed, the Quotas of the several Allies settled; and an Armament agreed on, by Sea and Land, for bringing about the End proposed. He was declared Commander in Chief of the Confederate Army, and managed Affairs to Admiration, notwithstanding the Disadvantages under which the Allies began the War, from the

* For he said to the Queen, then Princess of *Denmark*, That he was a Man of a cool Head, and a warm Heart, proper to encounter the Genius of *France*, and put a Stop to her Designs of enslaving all *Europe*.



the distorted Condition of *Spain* and of the Empire; two of whose principal Members, viz. the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, had declared for *France*, and a third, viz. the Elector of *Saxony*, then King of *Poland*, was detained from joining with his Forces, by reason of his Wars with the King of *Sweden*, and some malecontent *Poles*.

The Queen of *England*, being crowned upon the 23d *April* 1702, immediately called a Council, in which, after a full Debate, it was agreed to declare War against *France*; and the Resolution, being afterward approved by the Commons, the same was proclaimed, upon the 4th *May*, with the usual Solemnities. The Reasons assigned were principally these; The *French* King's keeping Possession of all the *Spanish* Dominions, seizing upon *Milan*, and the *Nethrelands*, making himself Master of the Entrance into the *Mediterranean*, and of the Ports in the *Spanish East Indies*, by his Fleets; and for offering so great an Affront and Indignity to the Queen and her Kingdoms, as to declare, jointly with *Spain*, then solely under his Influence, the pretended Prince of *Wales*, King of *Great Britain*. The *Dutch* soon followed; and, on every Side, there were the most unheard of Preparations.

The Prince of *Nassau Saasbruck* opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Keiserfwaert*, a small but strong Town, in the Electorate
of

Cologn. This Place cost a vast Trouble before it fell into the Hands of the Besiegers; for, from the 16th of *April*, the Elements on the one Hand, and *Tallard* on the other, annoyed them so, that, tho' they had reduced the Town to a Heap of Rubbish, and battered the Outworks with forty eight Cannon and thirty Mortars, yet, till the 9th *June*, they durst not attack it by Storm: Then did they make a Lodgment upon the Counterscarp, notwithstanding a most desperate and obstinate Resistance; which forced the besieged to give up the Place on honourable Terms, but the Fort was razed according to Agreement.

The taking of this Place was Matter of Consternation to the *French* Soldiery; to recover them from which, Marshal *Boufflers* being joined by Count *Tallard* and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Corps, marched off, silently, to *Nimiguen*, and, notwithstanding the resolute Behaviour of the Inhabitants, who planted one hundred and sixty Pieces of Cannon on the Walls, to give them a warm Reception, he might have possessed himself of that Key into the united *Netherlands*; had not the Earl of *Atblone*, upon the first Advice of this March, broke up, and, by a more hasty March than that of the Enemy, arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*, half an Hour before the *French* could get up, and so saved that important Fortress.

Landau

Landau surrendered to Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, after a Siege of three Months, 10th *September*; and the *French* got a Check before *Hulst*, while *Sas Vangent*, and many other Places, with a surprising Alacrity, and unwearied Diligence, put themselves in a Posture of Defence; this, with their Disappointment at *Nimeguen*, so enraged the *French*, that they plundered the City of *Cleves*, and made the Defenceless Country feel the Effects of their Revenge; which was stemmed, for a little, by a Prodigy of Valour, executed by the brave Colonel *Grovesteins*, who, by a sudden March, with 300 Horse, came up to reconnoitre the Enemy; and, meeting a Party of 400 Cavalry, he fell upon them, notwithstanding their fire, Sabre in Hand, and killed about half of their Party. This Action cost him six or seven Wounds, the only Price he paid for so great a Treasure of Applause. Such was the State of the Campaign when the Duke of *Marlborough*, now declared Master-General of the Ordnance, arrived from *England*, in Quality of Ambassador, and Captain-General, at the *Hague*; whence, after settling every Thing, by Conferences, in which his Sentiments prevailed, even tho' contrary to the general Voice of the Assembly, he set out for the Army; whose Hearts he gain'd, by a modest Use of that Power wherewith he was intrusted. He soon saw himself at the Head of an Ar-

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my of 60,000 Men, then encamped at *Duck-
embourg*; where, in a Council of War, it was
resolved to march in Pursuit of the Enemy,
who retreated as he advanced, and left the
Confederates in Possession of the *Spanish
Guelderland*.

It was during this March, that the Earl
of *Stair* first contracted an Intimacy with the
Duke of *Marlborough*; who, observing his
Alacrity and Resolution, and the unbounded
Courage of the most fiery Soldier, mixed
with the Wisdom and Conduct of the grayest
Hairs, became particularly fond of him:
And, tho' the Duke, by a national Prejudice,
was not so fond of encouraging *Scotsmen*;
yet true Merit affected the Heart of the Hero
wherever it was to be found. He observed,
in Mr. *Dalrymple* (for that was the Name un-
der which he went) a Bravery and Courage
equal to the most dangerous Enterprizes, and,
at the same time, a Conduct capable of ex-
tricating himself from the most apparent Dif-
ficulties.

From *Petit Brugel*, where the *French* Camp
was, they were obliged to move on the Ap-
proach of the Confederates. *August 2d*, the
Army marched to demolish the Walls of
Peer and *Bray*, two small Towns in the Bi-
shoprick of *Liege*, which the Enemy held
for securing their Convoys: They attacked
the first of these Places, with a Bravery only
to be inspired by such Officers as then had
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the Command. Every Officer, and every Soldier, vied with each other in distinguishing himself under the Eye of his August Commander; but none more than the deceas'd Lord: For, being made Colonel of the Royal *North British* Dragoons, upon the 9th *March* 1702, he endeavoured to raise the Reputation of that Regiment; and, being sent to support a Battery, he stood at the Head of his Regiment, for several Hours, while the Troops were falling on each Hand of him, without the least Alteration of Countenance, or the least Desire to draw off, notwithstanding a furious Cannonade from that Quarter of the Town. Never Man was more generous to the Officers, or more popular among the Soldiers, than he; for he so animated them. by his Example, by his Motion and Voice, that, after having made a sufficient Breach in the Walls, he marched up, Sword in Hand, amidst Showers of Fire and of Smoke; was the first to scale the Ladder, with a drawn Sword in one Hand, and Pistol in the other; awarded the Blow of a Grenadier, which was aimed at him, shot him dead upon the Spot, and mounted the Wall, almost like another *Alexander*, when he leaped into the City of *Oxidraques*, single and alone: The Troops soon followed so glorious an Example, and crowded about their Leader, then exposed to the Fire, not only of the Batteries, but of the small Arms

of the Enemy, who, being driven from their Posts in Confusion, communicated the Consternation among their Comarades, who quickly deserted the Town. The News of the taking *Peer* was carried quickly through the Army, which resounded with the Praises of the Master of *Stair*, until another Action, no way more glorious, but of greater Consequence in the Event, effaced the Memory of that most surprising Exploit.

A very lucky Circumstance happened, for raising the Reputation of the deceas'd Lord : For, as the *English* Soldiers, in general, were discontented with the *Dutch*, for opposing the Duke of *Marlborough's* Proposal, to engage the *French*, which, at once, might have ended the War, they were the more enraged when they saw, what Prodigies he had wrought by his Bravery and Conduct ; and reasoned thus : “ What could not an
 “ Army of Soldiers, like these have done
 “ in the open Field, since Barriadoes, Pal-
 “ lisadoes, Ditches, Lunettes, Ravelines,
 “ placed in the most due Proportion from
 “ one another, built in the most commodi-
 “ ous Manner for their mutual Defence, and
 “ planted with Rows of devouring Cannon,
 “ were unable to sustain their Charge.” Whether this Reasoning was just or no, I leave to others to determine ; shall only observe, that every Colonel in the Confederate Army, must
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not be supposed to equal the Conduct and Intrepidity of the Master of *Stair*.

The undaunted Courage, shewn by his Regiment upon this Occasion, threw a Damp upon the *French* Army, and, tho' secured by Morasses and Entrenchments, and superior in Numbers, they refused to wait the coming up of the Allies, but silently decamped in the Night; while the Duke of *Burgundy*, ashamed of that Inactivity, which ended so ingloriously for him, repaired to *Versailles*, leaving the Command to Marshal *Boufflers*, who was only dextrous in commanding a flying Camp, bombarding a City, or seizing a Post by Surprise.

The *Dutch* Army, who, before the coming of the Duke of *Marlborough*, were obliged to retreat under the Cannon of *Nimeguen*, saw the Enemy now flying in their Turn; and avoiding a Battle, with as much Care as the Duke was eager to engage them, either flying precipitately before him, or posting themselves behind Places that were inaccessible. They decamped, on the 18th *August*, in order to secure the Navigation of the *Maese*, by driving the Enemy from their Fortresses, and so relieving *Maastricht* then almost block'd up.

There is a very strong Town in the Territory of *Ruremond*, in *Spanish Guelderland*, called *Venlo*, situated on the Edge of an Island, formed by the Confluence of the *Maese*

with the little Rivulet *Haven* ; it lies near the Bishoprick of *Juliers*, ten Miles South-West of *Guedres*, and eleven North of *Ruremond*. To this Place did the Allies bend their Course ; sat down before it on the 25th, opened the Trenches, on both Sides of the *Maese*, on the 27th, without losing a Man ; planted their Batteries, of sixty four Cannons, twenty four Mortar-pieces and Hawbitzers, and a vast Number of Coehorn mortars.

As the Place was well stored with Provisions, and that the Count *de Varo*, the Governor, was resolved on a vigorous Defence, the Siege went on but slowly, till the 7th September, when the Lord *Cutts* attacked Fort *St. Michael*, between the Bastion, which is next the Plain, and the Ravelin which lies on the North Side of it. He had under him, the Royal *Irish*, then commanded by the Master of *Stair*, General *Henkcom's* Regiment, with 172 Grenadiers, and 100 Fusiliers, under a Lieutenant-Colonel ; as also 300 Workmen, with a competent Number of Engineers. The Grenadiers, animated by the Promises of that brave Lord, cleared the Counterscarp with their Fire, avoided a Mine, attacked the Ravelin, Sword in Hand, and made a dreadful Slaughter. The Way being now paved out, his Lordship marched up, with all his Forces, engaged the Enemy, and soon became Master of the Ravelin : But their Possession of it was far from being quiet
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or peaceable, for the *French* fired incessantly from the Rampart of the Fort ; on which the Granadiers threw in their Granadoes, attacked the Fort, Sword in Hand, drove the Enemy from it so hastily, that they had not Time to break down their Bridges, tho' supported by their Granadiers, who hotly disputed it, by Fire and push of Pike, from the Flank of one of their Bastions. They quickly were in Possession of the Place, and begun a dreadful Havock, it being almost impossible to check the Fury of the Soldiers for some time. The Troops in the Fort, to the Number of 600, were either killed or drowned, except 80, who passed the *Maese* in small Boats, and so escaped with their Lives.

Never was a bolder Action in any Campaign ; never did Officers and Soldiers act with more Intripidity : But, of them all, none signalized himself more than the Master of *Stair*. He was the first to climb up the Rampart, and force his Way into the Fort ; and, no sooner was he on the Wall, than he flew into the thickest Ranks of the Enemy, killing and wounding all who came near him. Several others, such as, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Duke of *Argyle*, Lord *Mark Ker*, gave most convincing Proofs of their Bravery. Four Days after the News of the Surrender of *Landau* being brought to the Camp, great Rejoicings was made. The Soldiers drew up in Order of Battle, and a triple Dis-

Discharge from their Cannon and small Arms was made ; which, being taken by the Besieged for a Signal of a general Attack, the Garrison beat a Parly, and surrendered the Place, upon Condition of being conducted to *Antwerp* with their Arms and Baggage, but without any Cannon or Mortars, on which they insisted at first ; but gave up that last Point. During this Siege, which lasted four Weeks, the Besieged lost as many Men as the Besiegers, but more commissioned Officers. The *French*, to make Amends for their Loss of *Venlo*, marched to *Hulst* ; but were so much galled by the Cannon of the the Fort of the *Great Kykuyt*, that they were obliged to retire with the Loss of 600 Men.

But, tho' the *French* miscarried in their Designs, yet the Duke of *Marlborough* always carried his Point ; *Ruremond* and *Stevenswaert* were taken by Capitulation, in Sight of Marshal *Boufflers*, and the whole *French* Army. These Conquests, tho' considerable in themselves, were not sufficient to satisfy the active Soul of his Grace, who immediately resolved upon the bombarding *Liege*, to which he moved, at the Head of the Confederate Army ; and, in his Way, having Notice of the Place where Marshal *Boufflers* designed to be one Day at Noon, he marched so early as to be at the Place before him ; and, in all probability, the whole Troops under

under that General must have been cut to Pieces, or taken, they being within Shot of their Enemy ere they were aware, had not the *Dutch*, a second Time, rejected the Proposal of fighting : And, as the *French* decamped by Favour of the Night, so the Allies marched, about one in the Morning, from their Post, at *Soulendale*, to *Liege*, upon the 1st *October* ; and, about four in the Afternoon, came within Cannon-shot of the Citadel : And, about Sun-set, the Troops were so formed, as effectually to block up the Town, in which were 12 Battalions of Foot, 50 Pieces of Cannon and Mortars mounted, with Plenty of Ammunition, and all other Necessaries. The Town quickly fell into the Hands of the Conqueror ; for the Magistrates surrendered upon Condition, that the Citadel should not be attacked on the Side of the City, in order to prevent its being entirely destroyed. The Keys were delivered into the Duke of *Marlborough's* own Hands ; and, on the 7th, the Trenches were opened before the great Citadel, by four *English* Battalions on the Right, one of which was commanded by the deceas'd Lord, and by a like Number of the Troops of the united Provinces.

That very Evening, the Allies attacked the Enemy's Entrenchments, which they forced and maintained. Two Days after, the Batteries being mounted with forty four
Cannon.

Cannon and twelve Mortars, furiously played upon the Citadel, and blew up a Magazine of the Enemies, in which were 1000 loaded Bombs and Granadoes, with several Barrels of Powder. Next Day, they not only set on Fire another Magazine, in which were 600 Granadoes, ready filled, but dismounted the Batteries of the Enemy: And, on the third Day, two more Magazines were set on Fire by their Bombs; and, in the Evening, some small Mortars and Granadoes, the Invention of M. Coeborn, played with a Success unprecedented till that Time.

That great Engineer, having observed the Breach made by the Batteries, advised the Duke of *Marlborough*, to attack the Counterscarp that Afternoon; which Proposal being accepted, the Battalions who opened the Trenches begun the Attack, about four o' Clock, under Cover of the Cannon which had blown up four Magazines. They marched boldly up to the Breach, not firing, tho' highly provoked to it, till within Pistol-shot of the Counterscarp, which they attacked with a Fury that obliged the Enemy to retire; and, observing their Consternation, they got upon the covered Way, passed the Ditch, mounted the Breach, at once, and took the Place Sword in Hand.

'Tis impossible to describe the Resolution of the Allies, but, particularly, the *British* Troops upon this Occasion. The Prince of *Hesse*

Hesse Cassel, now King of *Sweden*, who voluntarily headed the *Granadiers*, was the first to mount the Breach, and wrest the Colours from a *French* Officer ; and here it was, that this generous Hero first contracted an Intimacy with the deceas'd Lord, of whose Intrepidity and Valour he had been an Eye-witness, and to whom he was indebted for the Preservation of his valuable Life : For, as his Highness mounted, an Officer was upon the Point of cutting him through with a Sabre, and infallibly he must have died there and so would have had no Opportunity of adorning the *Swedish* Nation ; had he not been rescued by the Master of *Stair*, who shot the Officer dead upon the Spot with a Pistol that was tied, by a Cord about him. The little Fort of the *Chartreuse* was quickly surrendered to the victorious Allies, who only lost 143 Soldiers killed, and 360 wounded, with about 20 Officers of Note. This was indeed a Loss to the Allies, but a small Price for so important a Place, and so glorious a Conquest ; upon which Medals were struck, to perpetuate the Fame of so noble an Action.

On the 23d *November*, the Army separated and went into Winter-quarters, to refresh themselves after the Fatigues of a Campaign, that had crowned them with Laurels in *Brabant* ; while the Troops under Prince *Eugene*, in *Italy*, kept upon the defensive, till the Beginning of *August* that the Battle of

Luz

Luzzara was fought, with such Obstinacy, and ended so indistinctly, that both Armies claimed the Victory, and both felt the Loss; but the surprising *Cremona*, and taking Marshal *Villeroy* and the Marquis *de Crenau*, are no way doubtful, tho' the Imperilists, by Chance, miscarried in their Reduction of the Place.

In *Germany*, the Elector of *Bavaria* surprised *Ulm*, under Pretence of maintaining the Tranquility of the Empire, whose Members were so far enraged, as to declare War against *France*, and to sollicite his Imperial Majesty to proceed against the Elector, according to the Constitutions of the Empire. The seizing of *Ulm* pleased the *French King* so well, that he sent the Marquis *de Villars*, with a considerable Body of Troops, to join his Highness: But this Junction was prevented by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who intercepted and attacked them at *Fridlingen*; where he cut the Flower of their Infantry in Pieces, and obliged the shattered Remains of their Forces to repass the *Rhine*.

This was the State of the Campaign, till the Beginning of *March* 1703, that the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had been loaded with Honours and Congratulations, arrived from *England* at the *Hague*, where he concerted Measures so well, that the Troops were in Readiness to march in a few Days after; which they did towards *Bonn*, and invested it on the

the 13th *April*, with the *Prussian* Cavalry ; and, so closely was it attacked, that it was surrendered, the 15th of *May*, upon honourable Terms. The *French* fled every where before the Duke of *Marlborough* ; and Baron *Spar* forced their Lines, in the *Pais de Waese*. *Huy* was taken also, *August* 25th ; and, by the taking of *Limburg* and *Gueldres*, the Enemy were removed from the *Maese*, and more Provinces subjected to the Allies : But the *French*, in *Germany*, took Fort *Kebl*, while the Elector of *Bavaria* seized upon several Places, and, on the 7th *April*, took Possession of the Bridge and a Gate of *Ratisbon* ; afterwards took *Nassau*, and made himself Master of *Lintz*, and favoured the *Hungarian* Rebels, who made Incurfions to the Gates of *Vienna* ; and, on the 5th of *May*, was joined by the *French* Army under Marshal *Villars*. At *Eckeren*, the *Dutch* were surrounded and routed, after an obstinate Resistance ; but, in the latter End of the Campaign, they were alternately visited by the Frowns and the Smiles of Fortune : For the Duke of *Bavaria* was beat out of *Tyrol* by the Boors, who rose against him. At *Ausburgh* he was driven off ; and the Duke of *Vendosme*, who was advancing to meet him, was served in the same Manner. But, on the *Rhine*, it was otherwise ; for the *French* took *Old Brisac* and *Landau*, after defeating a large Body of the Confederates, only through an

unaccountable Supineness of their Officers : But afterwards Fortune shifted Sides ; for certain it is, she was most favourable to the Allies, and, by her Smiles, prevailed upon the Duke of *Savoy* and the King of *Portugal* to join the Grand Alliance. The Archduke of *Austria*, who had been declared King of *Spain* at *Vienna*, under the Title of *Charles III.* was arrived at *Dusseldorp* in his Way to *England* ; and, no sooner had the Duke of *Marlborough* Notice of it, than he went, in Name of his Royal Mistress, to congratulate him on his Accession to the Throne. Several Compliments passed betwixt them, and his Majesty presented him with a Sword of great Value ; which his Grace retained ever after, as a Memorial of his Majesty's Title to the Throne, and the Obligations which he lay under to support his Pretensions thereto. Among the Number of those who went in his Grace's Retinue, was the deceas'd Lord, who, by his graceful and lovely Appearance, attracted the Eye of the King and of the general Officers, who were about him. They took particular Pleasure in talking with him ; and the Respect which he shewed to every Person, in Proportion to his Rank and Merit, more than his beautiful outward Parts, left in their Minds a lively Image of the Dignity, the Wisdom and Prudence of the Master of *Stair*.

From thence, he accompanied the Duke
into

into *England*, and, in the Spring of the memorable Year 1704, returned with him into *Holland*; where, after concerting Measures with the Deputies of the States, his Grace set out, to deliver the Emperor and Empire from the *French* and *Bavarians*, who were then in Possession of the *Danube*, and Masters of the strong Lines of *Stolheffen*, *Kinck* and *Betil*. This Campaign was, in a Manner, an Abridgement of all military Glory. His very Name caused the *Bavarians* to fly before the Imperialists, whom, formerly, they pursued; and the Junction was effected in spite of all Opposition. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke had their first Interview at *Mindelsheim*, upon the 10th May 1704. The Troops were reviewed by his Highness, who expressed his highest Satisfaction with the Horses, the Cloathing, the Belts and Accoutrements; yet all these, said he, may be had for Money, but there is a Spirit, in the Looks of your Men, which I never saw in any in my Life. Sir, replied the Duke, *If it be, as you say, that Spirit is infused into them by your Presence.* Among those who were taken notice of by the illustrious Prince *Eugene*, was the deceas'd Lord, who, with his heroick Countenance, and martial Gate, delighted his Highness greatly; and, being introduced to him, with some others, he said, "This is a young Man, if I be not mistaken,

E. 2.

" who

“ who, if he live, will be capable of succeeding the greatest Generals.”

As Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came up, the Operations were concerted ; and the *English* General obtained a Post, which equalled him to the greatest General in Christendom. Animated with the Presence of Prince *Eugene*, they march with a fresh Resolution, and, in quest of Glory, they desire to come to Blows : And, on the 2d *July*, at three in the Morning, 6000 *English* Foot, and thirty Squadrons of *Dutch* and *English* Cavalry, with three Battalions of Imperial Grenadiers, arrive before *Schellenberg*, where the *Bavarians* had strongly entrenched themselves. 'Twas now about five o' Clock at Night, when the Attack was made by the *English* and *Dutch* Infantry, and, in about an Hour and an half of Time, the Entrenchments were forced ; and the Imperial Cavalry, who came up about the latter End of the Action, breaking in, made a dreadful Slaughter. 'Twas here the deceas'd Lord was taken particular Notice of by Prince *Lewis*, and several of the Imperial Generals ; for he was the first of the *British* Officers to leap into the Trenches, where several Balls shot through his Cloaths, grazed upon his Hat ; but, by an inexpressible Piece of good Fortune, he received no other Hurt.

From this Place, the Army bent their Course to *Donawert*, reaping the Spoils of
Bava-

Bavaria, and the vast Magazines, as they passed along. No Resistance was made while they ravaged that beautiful Country, because their Sovereign would not listen to Terms: And, on the 2d *August*, the Battle of *Hockstet* was fought, of which there have been so many, and such various Accounts; nor is it my Business to trouble the Reader with any thing about it, further than concerns the deceas'd Lord; who, being in the Right of the Army, with the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had to do with Marshal *Tallard*, and the *French* auxiliary Troops, he was among the first to break into the thickest Squadrons of the Enemy, and obliged their Horse to give Ground. 'Twas at this Time, that Marshal *Tallard* was taken Prisoner; for that Officer, standing off at a Wing, with some Squadrons of Horse about him, was alarmed at the terrible Fire which he heard eccho from that Quarter where he had placed the Gens d' Armes, whom he reckoned invincible; he put Spurs to his Horse, and galloped up to animate them by his Prefence: But, to his great Disappointment, he found, tho' too late, that the Firing did not proceed from his own Men, but from the victorious *English*, who had drove the *French* from that very Ground; and his short Sightedness hindered his observing the Mistake, till too late, when he was taken Prisoner, by a *Hessian* Lieutenant-Colonel.

nel. The Infantry, after having routed the Gens d' Armes, were ordered, with some Squadrons of Horse, to the Village of *Blenheim*. The deceas'd Lord, already flushed with the glorious Success of the Day, march'd on with the utmost Alacrity, as indeed did the Rest of the Troops, in order to attack that Village, in which were twenty eight Battalions, who were fully set upon retrieving the Honour of the Day ; and 'tis not doubted, but the Dispute must have proved obstinate and bloody, had not the Duke of *Marlborough* prevail'd, by Promises and Threats, upon M. *Desnouville*, his Prisoner, to exhort them to accept of their Lives : At which some of them were so enraged, as to tear the Colours in Pieces, and bury them under the Ground.

Nor must it here be forgot, that his present most gracious Majesty, King *George II.* acted the Hero, through the various Scenes of the Day ; charging, at the Head of his Troops, with a Courage which no Barrier could resist or oppose.

The Battle, in which the Enemy lost 40,000 Men, was not only fatal to the Glory, but to the Interest of *Lewis XIV.* who had a Series of ill Fortune, except in *Italy*, where the Duke of *Savoy* lost one Place after another, that he had as much reason in the Course of this War, to complain of her Frowns, as he had before to exult in her Smiles ; and, tho' the
 Elector

Electors of *Bavaria* suffered little more than Prince *Eugene*, who was engaged with him, yet he could not singly resist the victorious Confederates.

The rebellious *Hungarians*, who were only in want of Artillery to reduce *Vienna*, and the Fortresses of their native Kingdom, terrified at the Success of the Campaign, returned to their own Habitations. The Towns of *Memminghem*, *Ausburgh* and *Ulm*, desired the Protection of the Duke of *Marlborough*; who scowred *Germany* of the *French*, whom he obliged to repass the *Rhine*, and restrained them to their ancient Bounds, and forced upon them the Lesson, of confining themselves to their own Habitations, and sheltering behind the *Queich*; while the Allies, in different Bodies, passed the *Rhine*, in order to attack them. *Landau*, being closely besieged, surrendered, upon the 23d *November*, to the King of the *Romans*, in Person, who came to share of the glory of such Conquests, while *Traerbach* and *Triers* fell into the Hands of another Body of the Confederates; but, as the deceas'd Lord had no Share in these Actions, nor yet in the Treaty concluded with the Electress of *Bavaria*, I shall pass to some other memorable Events; and so talk something of him in his political Capacity, and of the great Hand which he had in advancing the Union: But, before I proceed, it will not be improper to take a short survey of

of the State of the *Scottish* Nation for some Time before.

'Tis well known, that, for five hundred Years together, *Scotland* was in Union with the *French* Nation ; but, how fatally for the former, let the Annals of *England* speak. During this execrable League, which both *Scotsmen* and *Englishmen*, ought to look upon with Abhorrence, unless so far corrupted as to be in love with their own Chains ; they committed the most terrible Devastations and Murders on each others Territories ; for Neighbours, when stirred up by a third Party, are the bitterest of Enemies : But, as it is impossible for People to shut their Eyes against a constant Sunshine ; so *England* began to see the Folly of enraging the *Scots*, and these again of being the Dupes of *France*, in whose Hands they were, like the Cat's Paw in the Fable, to take out the roasted Apples ; began to think seriously of the Matter, and to fall on a Way of removing the national Prejudice, the Seeds of which had been sown by *France*, and ripened through the Cherishings of an endless Animosity, which was too much heated, all at once, to give Ear to Remonstrance. And, as the dreadful Flame of Hatred had been long fomented, it was not easy to be put out ; nor yet that glowing Vengeance, which they threatened upon each other, was quickly to be cooled ; nor, perhaps, had the Embers

bers of the Fire yet been extinguished, had it not been for the following lucky, and fortunate Event :

King *James I.* of *Scotland*, being a Boy of seven Years of Age, was sent to *France* for his Education ; but, being taken Prisoner by the *English* Fleet, was conducted to *London* ; where he was gently, tho' closely confined, by King *Henry IV.* who, as the Prince grew up, took great Care of his Education, as did his Son and Successor King *Henry V.* Instead of being bred up in the Maxims of Arbitrary Power, at the Court of *Versailles*, he was taught, that Subjects have a Right to defend their Liberties and Laws. Instead of being imposed upon by the artificial Colourings of Chicanery, that the *Scots* Nation could not be long happy, unless at War with the *English*, he was let to see the Truth of the Maxim, *Concordia res parvæ crescunt*, small Things increase by Agreement ; and that the only way of promoting the Advantage and Happiness of each Nation, was to union among themselves, by a mutual Intercourse of good Offices ; and to look upon the Kingdoms as connected in Interest, as already, by Nature, they were joined.

Upon this Prince's Return into *Scotland*, he endeavoured to instill these Notions among the Nobility, and such as frequented the Court ; and it is remarkable, that none drank in his wholesome Discourses, with more eagerness,

eagerness, than the Predecessor of the Subject of these Memoirs, whom I formerly named: But, notwithstanding the Efforts of the King, yet *French* Gold was still prevalent enough to keep up a Party in the Kingdom; and sometimes to make them muster, according to the Caprice of the Court of *Versailles*. From this Period, of King *James's* Return to *Scotland*, the Nation was divided into two Factions, viz. the *French* and the *English*; and it is observable, that, before the End of the Year 1513, the Nobility of *Scotland* were so far convinced of the Folly of breaking with the *English* Nation, that they strenuously resisted the Proposal of King *James IV.* who, by his mere Authority, forced them to the Field of *Flowdon*, where he, with the Flower of his Peers, was cut off. Nay, further, the Invasion of the *Scots*, under King *James V.* was far from being the Deed of the Nation; but only the Effect of some crafty Churchmen, then in *French* Pay, and moved by the Springs of that Court: For, when a numerous Army convened at *Fala-mar*, the whole Nobility remonstrated against a Rupture with the *English*; but that Monarch, who was given too much to the Councils of the Clergy, who corrupted his Favourites, prompted him in his Pleasures, and furnished him with Money, which was dispersed among them by *French* Emissaries, became deaf to Remonstrance: And, as the
Body

Body of the Army fought against their Will, so the Campaign ended ingloriously for him, and, in Appearance, fatally for the Nation ; tho', afterwards, it was attended with the most substantial Advantages, civil and religious.

For the Nobility, taken at *Solway Firth*, 24th November 1542, had embraced the Doctrines of the Reformation, which were then advanced in *England*, and instilled them into these with whom they conversed. They likewise saw the vast Advantage of being joined to *England* by the closest Ties ; and, as an Opportunity offered of compleating that Union, by marrying *Edward VI.* then Prince of *Wales*, to the young Queen of *Scotland*, who was then but an Infant, they agree to the Match ; which, perhaps, had been directly made up, had not the Queen Dowager, and the *French* Party, taken care to convey her secretly off : At which the *English* were so far enraged, as, upon the Death of *Henry VIII.* to march into *Scotland*, with Fire and Sword. The *Scots* rose and fought them at *Musselburgh*, 10th September 1547, but were totally routed ; and, had the *English* Nation known how to use their Victory, they might, at that Time, have gone a great Length to the Reduction of the *Scots* : But their impetuosity leading them to attack the City of *Edinburgh*, at a narrow Passage, called the *Netherbow*, where some Field-pieces

pieces being planted to Advantage, cut them off in Ranks, and snatched out of their Hands the Effects of that Days Victory.

Before the Year 1560, notwithstanding the most political Laws made by the Court, with regard to Elections, for hindering the new Doctrines from spreading; the Body of the Nation was so ripe for a Revolt from the Church of *Rome*, that, in this Year, a General Assembly met at *Edinburgh*, and renounced the Supremacy of the Pope, and relinquished most of the popish Tenets: And, at the same Time, the far greater Part of the most illustrious and ancient of the Nobility and Gentry entered into a Covenant, for opposing the *French* Interest and his papal Holiness: And, as the *French* continued to assist the few Remains of those who adhered to them, and fostered up the unfortunate and short sighted Queen in such Measures as ended in her Destruction; the Nobility of *Scotland*, in Name of their King, to whom Queen *Mary* had resigned, begged Assistance from *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*; who whether from Principle or from Policy, (is but a Circumstance) was the Mother of the Protestant Religion.

The Affairs of the unfortunate Queen of *Scots* are too delicate for me to enter upon here, 'tis sufficient to say, that she entered first into a Conspiracy with the Duke of *Norfolk*; upon the detecting of which, the Royal Prisoner,

Prisoner, who had fled from *Scotland* four Years before, was more closely confined, and his Grace was beheaded *anno 1572*. Perhaps the unfortunate Queen might have ended her Days more happily, had not she, from a Prejudice in her own Favours, as judging herself the proper Heir to the Crown of *England*, entered into a Conspiracy with *Spain*, the Pope and the Duke of *Guise*, against Queen *Elizabeth*, who gave a Commission for trying of her; and, after Conviction, she was actually condemned to the Block: The Warrant was signed by her Cousin, with little or no Reluctance, and the Sentence was executed on the 8th *February 1587*, notwithstanding the feint Remonstrances of her Son.

This Hardness of Heart to the Mother, was far from proving fatal to her only Child; for this was the very Circumstance that made Queen *Elizabeth* espouse the Cause of the *Scots* King, who succeeded now by virtue of his Descent from *Margaret*, Consort to King *James IV.* and Daughter to *Henry VII.* but indeed more through the powerful Intercession and Interest of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was almost adored by her Subjects.

In the Year 1603, King *James* came to the peaceable Possession of the Throne; and tho' a weak Man, yet soon began to see the Advantage of the Union of the Crowns. Had this trifling Prince acted with common Pru-

dence, he might have been extremely happy, and have brought the Union to the utmost Perfection, if his narrow Soul had not been contracted within the Bounds of a Design to an unlimited and arbitrary Power. In his Reign, the *English* decayed in their Trade; daily Encroachments were made upon the Liberties of the People. He suffered the King of *Bohemia*, and in him the Protestant Cause, to fall a Sacrifice to the Emperor; and, neglecting to tread in the Steps of his Predecessors, he became as odious to the *English* Nation, for his pedantick Behaviour, and strange Œconomy, was abhorred by the generality of the People of the Reformed Religion in *Scotland*, for breaking through the most sacred Ties: And, on the 27th *March* 1625, closed a Life that had had been spent in the greatest of Fooleries. His Son, *Charles*, trode in the same Steps of arbitrary Power; his Schemes in Religion tended to persecution, and, in Civil Affairs, to absolute Dominion. His Parliament opposed his Encroachments, and gathered Strength as his Resentment increased; the higher it grew the more haughty were his Proceedings, which put his Subjects the more on their Defence. His Interest declining with the Churchmen * and

* The Church of *England*, at that Time, was quite different from what it is at present; for then they maintained the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, but are now Bulwarks against it.

and Puritants, he fell in with the Papists; made dishonourable Treaties with his Popish Subjects in *Ireland*, for their Assistance against his Protestant Subjects in *England* and *Scotland*; which, with the dreadful Massacre in that Kingdom, and his setting up his Standard against his Parliament, did so manifestly threaten their Liberties, that they opposed the King's Designs with all their might. The Event is well known; for the King fell a Sacrifice to his own Tyranny and folly, and his Head was severed from his Body, on the 30th *January* 1649, by an *Irishman*, whose Name lay concealed till 1740, that he declared it on his Death-bed.

Tho' the Measures of this unhappy Prince had a Tendency rather to alienate, than reconcile the Subjects of each Kingdom; yet this very Thing was an Instrument of cementing them more: For, to the *Scots* Army was owing the Victory at *Nasby*, and the other Advantages which generally attended the Parliament's Arms. The Union between them was, in a Manner, as close as it is now; and the present Establishment, with regard to *Scotland*, in sending up a certain Number of Peers to represent their Nobility, is founded upon the Plan of what happened in the Days of the Protector. After the Restoration, there was nothing but a Giddiness prevailed; for the People never looked upon themselves as safe while one Branch of Liber-

ty remained in their Hands : However, when the Phrenzy was removed, the Union again was thought of, and King *Charles II.* very warmly recommended it, in his Speech from the Throne *anno 1674* ; but, as a Chain of Misfortunes attended his Reign, and as the Nation was embroiled in Trouble, through the Loses they had sustained by the *Dutch* burning their Fleet in the *Thames* ; the Plague, the Decay of their Trade ; the selling the Triple Alliance to *France*, with the contrary Spirit that breathed in the *English*, from that which appeared in the *Scots*, who submitted to his most arbitrary Schemes ; there was no room for healing of Breeches which were every Day widened the more.

Nor was the Reign of his Brother King *James* more auspicious for bringing about the grand Work of the Union than the former Reign ; for the Tyrant, after the taking off the Duke of *Monmouth's* Head *, breathed nothing but a Spirit of Persecution, which none but infernal Fiends could inspire ; and his Soul wholly active upon setting up Popery, thought of no other Thing.

But, no sooner was the Revolution completed,

* When his Grace came before his Royal Uncle, and desired his Life upon his Knees, he refused it ; which, if *Charles II.* could have seen, 'tis a Question, if he should not be the first Man in *Britain* to expel him, when he thought of the Torture of his beloved *Monmouth*.

pleated, than the great Work was revived. King *William* was wholly set upon it; but, just as it was upon the Point of being finished, he departed this Life, leaving the Kingdom to Queen *Anne*; who, pressing the Steps of her great Predecessor, promoted the same, and at last brought it about, to the mutual Advantage of both Kingdoms, who now reap the Benefit of it: For the *English* are no longer affraid of Invasions from the *Scots*, and so are at full Liberty to prosecute their Wars against their natural Enemies upon the Continent; whereas the latter have all the Privileges of the *English* themselves; they have a free Trade to their Plantations, and their Constitution, in Church and State, is supported as *England* itself. One may now expect from me, a full Account of what passed at that memorable Event; but, as I intend to confine myself solely to the deceas'd Lord, I shall only give a concise Abridgement of it.

As I have already mentioned, it was closely pursued in the former Reign, and, in this, it was brought to a Period: For, in the Year 1705, the late Duke of *Argyle* was appointed Commissioner to the *Scots* Parliament; at which time he exerted himself for promoting of an Union; and his Arguments were so much the more powerful, as the Fate of his Grandfather was so recent in every Persons Mind. For here was the most sensible Instance of the changeableness of Fortune; the Representative

of him, who, but twenty Years before, was be-headed by the common Hangman, and his Family reduced to the lowest Ebb of Misery, shone in the Pinnacle of *Scottish* Greatness, and represented his Sovereign in Person. His Friends looked upon his Greatness as a Prodigy, and called to mind an Incident which here I beg leave to relate.

When his Grandfather was in Prison, about three Days before his Execution, he earnestly desired, that the Duke, who was then but a Child of four Years of Age, might be brought to him; and, after taking him up in his Arms, and dandling him for some time on his Knee, he desired every one in the Room to remove, except his Grandson, with whom he continued for a considerable Time; during which, the Earl, whose Mind was then alienated from the Vanity of serving the Court, informed him of the future Greatness of his House, and that his Blood would be the very Seed whence it should spring. The manly and lovely Boy burst out into Tears, which his Grandfather wip'd off, and used these softening Expressions which are generally uttered in such Cases by the prudent and wise. After calling in the Company, he ordered the Child to be carried away; and, at parting, recommended to him, a Love to his Country, and an Abhorrence of Popery, Prelacy and Arbitrary Power. The Child being removed, was conducted to *Casil: Campbell;*

Campbell ; where he was standing at a Window, which was about four Stories (if I remember right) from the Level of the Ground ; a Bird flying by, with a rapid Force, the manly Boy leaped out of the Woman's Hands, who was holding him, in order to catch the Creature ; quickly fell down, and was thought, by all in the Room, to have been dashed in Pieces. A sad and doleful Mourning, with the bitterest Lamentation, was quickly raised ; but how great was their Joy, when, upon going down Stairs, and, instead of finding his Blood and Brains strewed upon the Ground, they were revived with his manly Voice, which told them, that he was affrighted, but was not hurt.

While Commissioner, the whole City resounded with the Memory of this extraordinary Event ; and, as he had many Friends, so they espoused his System, which indeed was their great Advantage : For he got himself declared a Peer of *Great Britain*, and procured a Patent for his Brother, the present Duke, for being Earl of *Islay*. Thus his own Vote was secured in the House of Lords, independent of the Nobility of *Scotland*, and the greater Weight was added to his Influence in favour of his Friends ; who, when they were dissuading him from using his Interest for the Union, were only answered, that it was a Duty he owed to his Country, to use his Endeavours to incorporate it with

a brave and free People ; and not to continue in a subjected State to a Parcel of “ Tyrants, who regarded the Lives of their Nobles no more than the Lives of Dogs.”

’Tis not to be doubted but, after so long a national Prejudice, some People should even stand up against this Union ; and, indeed, great was the Opposition made to it both in *England and Scotland* : For the Multitude, *who are always in the Wrong*, loudly exclaimed against it ; yea, some Peers exerted themselves to hinder its being brought to a Period, and, very warmly, insisted upon the Inconveniencies and Hardships that would accrue to the Body of the People from it : Whereas, the more wise and considerate easily saw the vast Advantages, and, to the utmost of their Power, illustrated these with the most beautiful Flowers of Eloquence, and forcible Beams of Persuasion. Among the Latter was the Father of the deceas’d Lord, whose surprising Arguments cut down every Thing advanced against it ; and so lively was his Representation of the Advantages which both Nations would reap from it, that one would have thought he was rather giving the History of Things past, than a Conjecture of what was to come : And, being one of the Commissioners for treating with the Delegates from the *English* Nation, it was, after forty five Days Conferences, finished, upon the 23d July 1706 ; and the Articles were signed

and

presented to the Queen, who returned a most gracious Answer to the loyal and elegant Speeches of the Lord Keeper of *England* and Chancellor of *Scotland*, expressing their great Satisfaction, and setting off the Advantages that would accrue from the glorious Event of the Union, an Abstract of whose Articles are herewith inserted.

An Abstract of the Articles of the Union.

1. **T**Hat the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* shall, from the 1st of *May 1707*, be united into one Kingdom, by the Name of *Great Britain*. 2. That the Succession be to the Princess *Sophia* and her Heirs. And that all *Papists*, or Persons that marry *Papists*, shall be for ever excluded inheriting the Crown. 3. That the united Kingdom shall be represented by one Parliament, 4. That the Subjects of the united Kingdom shall have Freedom of Trade and Navigation to all Places within the same, and Plantations belonging to it, and a Communication of all other Advantages. 5. All Ships belonging to *Scottish* Men at the Time of the Union to be deemed Ships *British* built, the Owners making Oath, that the same belong to them. 6. All Parts of the united Kingdom to be under the same Regulations of Trade, and liable to the same Customs and Duties. 7. The united Kingdom
to

to be liable to the same Excise, except that a Barrel of Ale in *Scotland* shall not pay above 2 s. on account of the present Excise in *England*. 8. Foreign Salt in *Scotland* shall pay the same Duty as in *England*, but Salt made in *Scotland* shall be exempted for seven Years from the *English* Duty. Several Conditions relating to the Salt-duty were inserted in this Article, which we have not Room to set down. 9. When 1,997,763 l. shall be enacted and be raised in *England* on the Land Tax, *Scotland* shall add a further Sum of 48,000 l. 10. *Scotland* is exempted from the Stamp-Duties now in force. 11. As also from the Duty on Windows. 12. And from the Duties on Coals and Culm. 13. *Scotland* shall not pay the Malt-Duty, which expires *June* 24. 1707. 14. *Scotland* shall not be charged with any other Duties imposed by the Parliament of *England* before the Union, except those consented to in this Treaty. And if the Parliament, in their Provision for the Service of the Year 1707, shall lay any further Customs, *Scotland* shall have an Equivalent for the Share thereof they will be liable to. Malt made and consumed in *Scotland* not to be charged during this War. 15. *Scotland* shall have an Equivalent for what shall be charged towards Payment of the Debts of *England*, the Sum of 398,085 l. for the Customs and Excise they will be liable to, towards paying the said Debts. And an Equivalent

valent shall be further allowed for the Proportion *Scotland* shall hereafter pay by reason of the Increase of the Customs, by the Increase of Trade, and also for the Salt-Duty, which they will be obliged to pay after seven Years. The said 398,085*l.* to be applied to the paying the publick Debts of *Scotland*, to the refunding to the *African* Company their principal Stock and the Interest of it, to satisfy such as may be Losers by the Alteration of the Coin, and such other Uses as Commissioners appointed by her Majesty shall think fit. The *African* Company to be dissolved, as soon as an Act passes in *England* for paying the Equivalent. 16. The Coin to be of the same Standard throughout the united Kingdom as now in *England*, and a Mint to be continued in *Scotland*, under the same Rules as in *England*. 17. The same Weights and Measures to be used as now in *England*, and Standards to be kept in the Burghs agreeable to the Standard at the *Exchequer*. 18. The Laws for the Regulation of Trade, Customs, and such Excises as *Scotland* is to be liable to, to be the same with *England*. Other Laws in *Scotland* to remain as before, but alterable by Parliament. Laws which concern Publick and Civil Government may be the same throughout the united Kingdom, but no Alteration may be made in the Laws which concern private Right, except for evident Utility of the Subjects of *Scotland*. 19. The

19. The Court of Session, and other Courts, shall remain in *Scotland*, with such Regulations as there mentioned. 20. All heretable Offices, and Offices for Life, are reserved to the Owners, as Rights of Property. 21. The Rights of the Royal Burghs in *Scotland* shall remain entire. 22. Sixteen of the Peers of *Scotland* shall sit and Vote in the House of Lords, and forty five Representatives of *Scotland* in the House of Commons of the Parliament of *Great Britain*; the Choice whereof to be according to the Act passed in *Scotland* to that Purpose. In case her Majesty shall, on the 1st of *May*, declare this present Parliament to be the first Parliament of *Great Britain*, the present Parliament of *England* may be so on the Part of *England*, and the sixteen Peers and forty five Commons for *Scotland* to sit with them. Such Parliament to continue no longer than the *English* Parliament is by Law allowed to continue. 23. The sixteen Peers of *Scotland* shall have all Privileges of Parliament which the Peers of *England* have; and in Case of Trials of Peers, when no Parliament is in being, the Peers of *Scotland*, who sat in the last Parliament, shall be summoned. And all the Peers of *Scotland* shall be Peers of *Great Britain*, and shall enjoy all Privileges as full as the Peers of *England*, except sitting in the House of Lords, and upon Trials of Peers. 24. There shall be one Great Seal for

for the united Kingdom. A Seal to be still used in *Scotland* in Things relating to private Right, as usual. That the Privy Seal, Signet, Casset, &c. now used, to be continued. And that the Crown, Sceptre, Sword of St te, and Records, Rolls and Registers, publick and private, shall be still kept in *Scotland*. Lastly, 25. All Laws and Statutes inconsistent with the Terms of these Articles, to be void.

These were the principal Articles, which, as they were subject to the Review of the *British* Parliament, were, for most Part, altered by subsequent Acts ; nor is it my Part to make any Observations upon them, since the Principal, *viz.* the Settlement of the present Royal Family on the Throne, and the Constitution of the Church is secured, with the free Trade betwixt the united Nations ; which Blessings, to both, were very much owing to the Family of *Stair* : And, so strenuously did the Father of the deceas'd Lord promote it, that, by the Multiplicity of Business, in which he was at that Time involved, he became tender, and died of an Apoplexy ; the very next Day after, the *Scots* Parliament was dissolved.

But, tho' the Nobility of *Scotland* had lost one of their golden Branches, yet, by looking about, they soon espied one of the same Cast, shining with a Bark of the same Mould,

and this was the deceas'd Lord : For, tho' he was mostly abroad with the illustrious Duke of *Marlborough*, partaking of the Marches, the Victories and Triumphs, of that immortal Hero ; yet the Fame of his Exploits, and the Glory of his Actions, obtained the Admiration of the Nobles to such a Degree, that they elected him in his Father's Room, both in Consideration of his extraordinary Merit as an Officer, and from a Conviction of his superior Intelligence of the State of the Nation.

'Twas no Wonder than the deceas'd Lord was, at that Time, in the highest Respect and Esteem, since Fortune had favoured him with numerous Occasions for displaying his Virtues during the two last Campaigns ; and, as he advanced in the Acquaintance, so he did in the Friendship of the Duke, and now, by his close Connection with him, began to share of his Reputation.

He had been with his Grace, upon the 17th *July* 1705, when he forced the *French* Lines in *Brabant*, and cut a numerous Corps, both of the *French* Cavalry and Infantry, in Pieces, with twenty four Squadrons of the *Bavarian* Horse ; and, at the Head of his Regiment, he charged the Electors Life-guards, and made a dreadful Havock of them : And, on the 29th *August*, he discovered the utmost Alacrity to engage the *French*, which might have been done to the greatest Advantage,

vantage, if the same had not been opposed by the Deputies of the States. This Disappointment was at last made up by the Victory of *Ramillies*, which was fought on the 12th *May* 1706 ; and, as the deceas'd Lord was at that Time a Brigadier-General, and had a considerable Share in the Victory, it will not be improper if I should give a Description of it.

The *French* Ministers, observing that Fortune had abandoned them for some Campaigns, and attributing this to the Defensive War which they made, resolved, in a grand Council of War, where most of the Generals were present, to act offensively, in order to raise the Glory of their Grand Monarch. *M. Villars*, who commanded on the *Myselle*, was ordered to drive the Imperialists from *Fort Louis*, and *M. Villeroy* to attack the Duke of *Marlborough*, before he was in a Condition to undertake any thing, while the Duke de *Vendosme* had the most positive Instructions to fall upon Prince *Eugene* in his Quarters in the *Brescain* ; but, as Schemes are not generally executed so soon as they are contrived, so the *French* found, to their Experience, the whole of their imaginary Glory sullied by a single Action, which, at once, broke all their Measures, and obtained the greatest Advantages to the common Cause.

M. Villeroy was so desirous of coming to Action, that he passed the *Deyle* on the 10th

May, and posted his Army at *Tirlemont* with the *Gbeete* before them; here he was joined with the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had rode Post from *Brussels* to partake of the Glory with which he vainly thought the *French* Arms were upon the Point of being crowned. They had in their Army 76 Battalions and 132 Squadrons, 62 Pieces of Cannon, 12 Mortars and 36 Pontons; and their Desire of coming to Blows was the more inflamed, from their Expectation of engaging the Confederates before their Junction with the *Danish* Cavalry: They possessed themselves of the Camp of the Mount *St. Andre*, placing their Right to the *Mechaigne*, between which River and *Ramillies* (where they had 20 Battalions of Foot, with 12 Pieces of Cannon) they had placed 100 Squadrons, among whom were the Household of *France*.

Ramillies is a Village, furrounded by a Ditch, in the District of *Louvain*, on the Borders of the Province of *Namur*. It is situated at the Head of the *Gbeete*, about a Mile and a half North from the Side of the *Mechaigne*, between which and it, the famous Battle was fought. The *Gbeete* runs, from *Ramillies* to *Autreglise*, through a marshy Ground, and, beyond *Autreglise*, the River is enlarged and the Ground is unpassable.

The Allies, ever since the 8th *May*, were preparing for an Action in their Turn; and, about three in the Morning of the 12th, advanced

vanced in eight Colomns, under Covert of a great Fog, in order to attack the Enemy, who were fully resolved to act defensively or offensively as Occasion presented itself.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, rightly judging, that the Strefs of the Action would be at the Village of *Ramillies*, and, after disposing the Army in the best Manner, about one o' Clock, he sent the Master of *Stair*, his Aid de Camp, to Lieutenant-General *Schultz*, with Orders to advance at the Head of 12 Battalions, with 20 Pieces of Cannon, and, at the same time, ordered him to assist with his Brigade. With the utmost Fidelity did this illustrious Nobleman execute the Commands of his Grace : In half an Hour's time, the Artillery, on both Sides, began to play with terrible Execution ; and, notwithstanding the dreadful Fire upon both Sides, he rode along the Lines to receive the Orders of the Duke, who was then at their Head. He informed his Grace, that the best Way to gain the Village was to attack it Sword in Hand, under Cover of the Artillery ; and then, added he, " the Day shall be our own." To which his Grace replied ; " Then go you " to *Schultz*, and desire him to advance, " and depend upon Assistance from me." These Words are scarce uttered, when the Master of *Stair* flew, like an Arrow, to *Schultz* with Orders to advance. That General quickly obeyed, and made up to the

Enemy with the utmost Alacrity, which they observing, began to retreat from their advantageous Ground ; but, being pressed hard by the *Danish* and *Dutch* Cavalry, who advanced to surround them, they were intercepted, killed and taken Prisoners. The Rest of their Foot endeavoured likewise to escape, by favour of the Horse of their left Wing, who, being covered by a Rivulet and a Morass, had not yet been attacked, and formed themselves in three Lines, between *Offuz* and *Autreglise* : But the *English* Cavalry, having found Means to pass the Rivulet, charged the Enemy, with such unparalleled Briskness and Bravery, that they abandoned the Post ; and the Dragoons, pushing into the Village of *Autreglise*, cut them almost in Pieces, while their Foot gave way, on all Sides, before the *English* and *Dutch* Infantry : However, their Horse rallied in the Plains, to cover the Retreat of their Foot ; but, being warmly pressed by the Confederates, they separated, and fled three different Ways. The *Dutch* and *Danes* made a dreadful Slaughter of those who fled to the Left ; while the Regiments of *Lumley*, *Hay* and *Ross*, killed or took Prisoners, all who ran to the Right. They had begged for Quarter upon their Knees, delivered their Arms and Colours, to Lord *John Hay's* Dragoons, who, judging every Thing safe, began to pursue the Remainder ; one but of them, turning
ing

ing about, observed the Prisoners taking up their Arms; on which they were ordered to wheel about, and fall on them, and give no Quarter.

'Tis very certain, that never Troops discovered a greater Regard for one another than those of the *French*, *Bavarians* and *Spaniards*, upon the 12th May 1706. The Gens d'Arms, Gardes de Corps and Horse-Granadiers, were, in a Manner, cut to Pieces, as they were endeavouring to save their Infantry; seven Squadrons of the *Spanish* and *Bavarian* Guards, among which was the Elector himself and Marshal *Villeroy*; were broken by General *Wood's* Regiment, and either killed or taken Prisoners. Fortune had this Day frowned as much upon the *French* as ever she had smiled either in *Spain* or in *Brabant*; and was as rigorous to *Villeroy*, at *Ramillies*, as she had proved obliging to *Turenne* at *Norlingue*.

The skilful tho' unfortunate *Villeroy*, observing the dreadful Slaughter of his Troops, ordered a Retreat, which was actually begun in tollerable good Order; but, several Wagons of their Vanguard breaking down, obstructed the Passage of their Baggage and Artillery, as also prevented their Troops from filing off in Order. The Master of *Stair* was the first to observe their Misfortune; and, at the Head of the Royal *Scots* Greys, which he then commanded, galloped up to that Place, attacked

attacked the Remainder of the Gens d'Armes and Musquetairs, carrying Death and Destruction as he went along ; till, at last, touched with the Sight of the Slain, he stemmed the Fury of the Soldiers, and ordered Quarter to be given. But another Accident happened, of no less bad Consequence than the other ; a Party of *Bavarians*, came pretty near to a considerable Body of the *French*, who, taking them for Enemies, gave them several Fires, and the other, being equally deceived, returned the Compliment ; and so almost destroyed each other before the Mistake was found out. In this Battle the Enemy lost 8000 killed, 6000 taken Prisoners, among whom were 600 Officers, who, with the wounded, made 20,000 Men ; all their Cannon, except two or three, with most of their Baggage ; about 120 Colours and Standards, and several Pair of Kettle-Drums, fell into the Hands of the Conquerors ; who, by this Victory, in which they lost but 2000 Men, decided the Fate of the *Low Countries*, as they had determined that of *Germany*, in the Battle of *Hockstet*, two Years before.

Nor must it here be forgot, that M. d' *Auverquerque*, Velt-Marshal of the *Dutch Forces*, behaved with all the Conduct and Courage that became the greatest of Generals ; for he ordered the *Dutch Horse* to flank the Enemies Troops during the Engagement, and, perceiving that a Body of *French Foot*,
posted

posted among some Hedges, galled the Horse of his Wing, he ordered up four Battalions, with two Pieces of Cannon, to dislodge them; which being performed with great Resolution, *Villeroy* detached two Battalions of Foot, with fourteen Squadrons of Dragoons dismounted, to recover that important Post; but, in their Way, they were met by the *Dutch* Cavalry, who had wheeled to attack the Enemy in Flank, and were either all killed or taken Prisoners.

The Battle of *Ramillies*, in which the de-
ceas'd Lord had so great a Share, was followed
by a total Revolution throughout the *Spanish*
Netherlands, whose Inhabitants waited the
Approach of their Deliverer, and thankfully
opened their Gates; and the Sovereign Coun-
cil of *Brabant*, in Compliance with the De-
fire of the Confederates, acknowledged King
Charles III. *Mechlin*, *Malines*, *Oudenarde*
and *Bruges*, received *English* Garrisons; *Me-*
nin, *Ostend*, *Dendermonde* and *Aeth*, made
some Opposition, but they were quickly re-
duced. In a Word, in one Campaign, the
Confederate Army advanced from the Banks
of the *Maese*, to the Borders of *French-Flan-*
ders, and then went into Winter-quarters;
and the Duke of *Marlborough*, after several
Conferences held at the *Hague*, arrived at
London, November 18th, attended by the de-
ceas'd Lord and several other General Offi-
cers,

cers, all crowned with the most verdant Laurels of Honour and Applause:

Before I close this Year, it must be observed, that Fortune was favourable to the Allies in *Spain* and in *Italy*, as well as in *Brabant*; for the Duke of *Anjou* was not only obliged to raise the Siege of *Barcelona*, and fly before the Allies; but, on the 7th September, was fought the Battle of *Turin*, wherein the Confederates gained a signal Victory; the French Marshal, *Marfin*, with 4 other General Officers, 8 Colonels, 12 Lieutenant-Colonels, 6 Majors, 98 Captains, 185 Commission Officers, 7641 Soldiers, were made Prisoners; 6704 were killed upon the Spot, 255 Pieces of Cannon, 108 Mortars, 7800 Bombs, 3200 Royal Granadoes, 7500 Hand-granadoes, 48,000 Cannon-bullets, 68,000 Quintals of Powder; all their Tents and Baggage, and all the Money, for paying the Troops, fell into the Hands of the Conquerors: The Consequence of which was, the Delivery of the Dutchies of *Milan* and *Mantua* into the Hands of the Imperialists; but, not to dwell upon these remote Subjects, I return to the Master of *Stair*,

Who being arrived in *England*, with his Patron, went down into *Scotland*, and there communicated, in a lively, but genuine Manner, the Wonders of the late Campaign; and, as he had so great a Share in the Confidence of the Duke of *Marlborough*, he was waited upon

on by the principal Nobility, who took a Pride in making their Compliments to him ; they, unanimously, elected him, on his Father's Death, to supply his Place in Parliament, that so all the Titles of so great a Father might unite in such an illustrious Son.

On the 2d *October* 1707, the first *British* Parliament met ; and, on Complaints from several trading Companies, against the Admiralty, with respect to Convoys for their Ships, strict Inquiry was made into the Administration of that Court, and Convoys and Cruisers were appointed for securing the Trade of the Kingdom ; and several wholesome Laws were enacted relating to the Marine. It was observeable, through the whole Course of the Debate, that none appeared more strenuous for making Regulations, with respect to Trade, and promoting the Interest of the Nation, than the Earl of *Stair* ; and, tho' he spoke but little, yet what he said was always to the Purpose, and, in so sedate a Manner, as to leave an Impression on all who heard him : And indeed it is observable, that such great Men, as are turned for the Field, have seldom very audible Voices ; for it was remarked in the great *Gustavus*, that his Voice was easy and shrill, but yet that no Man commanded more Attention, and that never Words were uttered, by a meer Man, more perswasive and piercing. The same might be observed of the Duke
of

of *Marlborough*, and of the Earl of *Stair*; of this Examples shall be given in due Place.

His Penetration and Judgment, with the Integrity and Uprightness of Heart, was soon taken Notice of in the House of Lords, who all courted his Acquaintance, and became particularly fond of him, and his easy Access soon endeared him to them; for never Man was more complaisant, chearful and agreeable, than the Earl of *Stair*, and, in every Station and Company, he mixed the Temper of a Companion with the Spirit of a Lord: His Acquaintance became universal, and only wanted some Time to grow up to the greatest Intimacy and closest Correspondence.

The Parliament was then divided into Factions and Parties, at the Head of one of which was the Duke of *Marlborough*; and, as the Earl of *Stair* had a thorough Confidence in the great Abilities of his Patron, he generally sided with him; And, when the State of their Losses in *Spain*, at the Battle of *Almanza*, which was fought April 25th, was laid before them, he was of the Number of those who voted, that timely Recruits for *Spain* had been wanting, and was very active in bringing about the Scheme for hiring 7000 *Palatines*, 3000 *Germans* and 12,000 *Italians*, which were embarked for *Barcelona* upon her Majesty's Pay.

Upon the Return of the Duke of *Marlborough*,

borough, November 7th, there appeared somewhat of Discontent among the Peers, because his Success in the *Netherlands* was not answerable to the Expectations they had formed; no Parliamentary Thanks were given him as formerly, while, on the other Hand, the Courage and Conduct of the Earl of *Peterborough* was cried up to the Skies; the War in the *Netherlands* was complained of as useless, that our Affairs in *Spain* were only to be regarded; for retrieving of which, a Quota of 15 or 20,000 Men was to be detached from *Flanders*, to change the Face of Affairs in that Kingdom: But the Duke removed these Objections, with his wonted Eloquence; and was so well seconded in the Debate by the Earl of *Stair*, that it directly ended, and some other Business was brought upon the Carpet.

The Year 1707 was not indeed so glorious for the Allies, as some former Years; for the Siege of *Toulon* was raised by the *French* under Marshal *Tesse*, because the Duke of *Savoy* observed, that the Elements themselves fought against him, and hindered the Operations of the *English* Fleet: But his Army, and the Fleet, did not remove till they had bombarded the Town and Harbour, with such Fury, that one Magazine was set on Fire, several stately Buildings ruined, and eight capital Ships of War destroyed.

But the State of *Germany* was still more
H deplorable

deplorable ; for the People were harrassed by the *French* Generals, who spoiled them of their Goods, and sometimes of their Lives. The Marshal *Villars* forced the Lines at *Huhl* and *Stolboffen* ; made Incursions into the Empire, and laid the whole Country under Contribution, from the *Danube* to *Tirol* ; until he was obliged to repass the *Rhine*, by the Vigilance and Conduct of his late Majesty King *George*, who was hardly prevailed with to take upon him the Command of the Army of the Empire some Time before.

After his Grace had returned from *England*, and conferred with Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the State, the two Generals set out for the Court of *Hanover*, to obtain the Concurrence of King *George* with the Scheme that was then concerted. His Majesty, from a Greatness of Soul, only to be found among the Brave, consented to part with 24,000 Men to reinforce the Army in *Flanders* ; and so chearfully sacrificed the most promising Prospect of attaining the most triumphant Laurels.

It was during this Journey, that the Earl of *Stair* became personally acquainted with several Princes of *Germany*, and was first made known to King *George*, who, from a peculiar Sagacity in reading Men, framed to himself the highest Opinion of his Abilities and Virtues ; and this indeed continued till the Death of that illustrious Monarch.

After

After his Grace had returned to the *Hague*, where he concerted with the States the Measures for opening the Campaign, he set out, on the 7th May 1708 for *Ghent*, and on the 11th for *Brussels*, the Earl of *Stair*, being constantly with him; by his prudent Management got the Troops so well together, that, by the 27th, they were in Readiness to take the Field.

No sooner is Notice got of this, than the Duke de *Vendosme* assembled his Forces; on the 25th, and next Day, was joined by the Duke of *Burgundy*, then Generalissimo, and by the Pretender; who was now returned from his romantick Expedition into *Scotland*, where he had not yet landed, in order to try, if Fortune would make amends upon Land for her Frowns and Threatenings at Sea.

The Army of the Allies, now consisting of 180 Squadrons, and 11 Battalions, was very desirous of coming to Blows with the Enemy's, which was superior by 17 Battalions and 12 Squadrons; in order to wrest out of their Hands the Towns of *Bruges* and *Ghent*, with some other Places of the *Netherlands* which they, partly by Surprise and partly by Treachery, had reduced into their Power: For preventing of their further Progress, 7000 Men were thrown into *Oudenarde*, in order to preserve their Communication with *Menin* and *Courtray*.

They possessed themselves of the Camp at

Lessines, and endeavoured to bring the Enemy to an Engagement; which actually happened, 11th July 1708: And, as the deceas'd Lord was, at that Time, a Brigadier in the *English* Army, and Aid de Camp to his Grace, I must give a short Description of it.

The Ground, upon which this Battle was fought, lay on the other Side of the *Schelde*, and, tho' abundantly spacious, was incumbered with Hedges and Briars, as also with several Villages. The Earl of *Stair*, having made a Report to the Duke of *Marlborough*, that 7 *French* Battalions were posted in the Village of *Huine*, and that they might be attacked with Advantage; General *Cadogan* was immediately detached to pay them a Visit: He so warmly pressed upon them, that three of them were taken Prisoners, and the Remainder retreated in the greatest Disorder.

Upon this first Success the Allies advanced, without any Molestation whatever, tho' it was the Interest of the *French*, if not infatuated, to attack that Body of them which had passed the Bridge before they could be sustained by the other; but, happily for them, the Duke of *Burgundy* opposed his Cousin *Vendosme's* Design: So that the Allies were even as soon ready to attack as the *French*, though the latter had passed the *Schelde* eight full Hours before them.

General *Rantzau* began the Onset with eight

eight Squadrons of *Cadagan's* Detachment ; and fell upon a Column of Horse, that were crossing the Plain, and broke them. His present Majesty King *George II.* who had an Horse shot under him, and who had come up but a few Days to the Army before, charged at the Head of a Squadron of *Bulaw's* Cavalry ; where, after an obstinate Resistance, he broke through the Enemy, and obliged them to fly, making a terrible Slaughter of them. Notwithstanding this second Check, the Enemy drew up in Battalia ; and, could they have unanimously attacked Generals *Cadogan* and *Rantzau*, they might even have gone a great Way to retrieve their Misfortune : But the Misunderstanding which continued between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendosme*, proved the Ruin of their own, and the Support of the Cause of the Allies.

However, the general Battle began ; when the Battalions of the Earl of *Portmore* and *Gramkau* were attacked, and, perhaps, must have been sacrificed, had they not been followed by twenty Battalions, draughted from the Right, and led on by the late Duke of *Argyle*. An Engagement quickly ensued betwixt these Troops, and the left Wing of the Enemy, who attacked them with great Vigour, and obliged some Battalions to retire from their Posts ; but, others keeping their Ground, they rallied, and regained their Posts Sword in Hand. The Earl of *Stair*, who

was at that Time Aid de Camp, after exhorting the Soldiers to stand their Ground, on Promise of Assistance, faithfully informed his Grace of all that happened, and suggested, that now was the Time to turn the Scale, by sending up some Troops to the Support of those already engaged: Upon which, he was dispatched with Orders to Velt Marshal *Anverquerque*, to hasten up with his Forces. That great Commander, who that Day received his Orders from the Duke, caused his Infantry file over the Bridge, while the Cavalry forded the *Schelde* at *Oudenarde*; and, being got to the other Side, they, with redoubled Speed, marched up to the Enemy, whom they found posted behind Hedges, Coverts, and upon Hills. The whole Allied Army was now in Battalia; and the Duke of *Marlborough*, judging the Stress of the Day would be upon the Right, ordered twenty Battalions from the Left to reinforce it. 'Twas at this Time Prince *Eugene* separated from his Grace, the former going to the Right, and the other to the Left of the Army. This last Wing performed Miracles of Bravery; broke the Enemy's first Lines, so that these must have been wholly cut off, had they not been relieved by their second, who, joining the Remains of the first, fought with great Obstinacy; but, at last, they were separate and broke, which the Cavalry observing, they rode through the opening to charge

charge their Horse which stood behind. This they did with the utmost Vigour, and routed them entirely ; but, being hurried on too far, with an Ardour that could not be restrained, some fresh Troops of Infantry closed upon them, and killed almost the half of that Party which had broke in ; and perhaps that Wing had been destroyed, had it not been for the Success which attended the Troops of the left Wing, who first attacked in Front the Coverts and Villages, where the Enemy was posted ; at that same time, two Brigades of Infantry, with some Cavalry, were detached to sustain those who were engaged, by taking the Enemy in Flank. They gave Ground immediately, and retired further behind the Hedges ; upon which twenty Battalions passed through Defiles to flank them. Here a dreadful Battle ensued between those and the *French King's* Household, who at that time inspired the Foot. - They continued obstinate for some Time, till the Earl of *Stair*, observing a narrow Passage, of which he acquainted the Duke of *Marlborough* ; Count *Tilly* was ordered to defile through it, with the *Danish* Cavalry, and engage the Gens d'Armerie. These soon fell into the greatest Disorder, and rode off, full Speed, after some few feint Charges, leaving the Foot so much exposed to two Fires, that they were all killed, or surrendered Prisoners of War.

'Twas

'Twas no longer a Battle now, but a total Rout; which *Vendosme* himself, notwithstanding the utmost Effort, could not prevent or remedy: However, Night, very opportunely, came on, and delivered them from the pursuit of the Conquerors, whom it so far deceived, that they fell foul of each other; which, being first observed by the Earl of *Stair*, he rode between the two Fires, informed them of their Mistake, and so prevented any further Havock.

Such was the Battle of *Oudenarde*, in which the *French* lost 4000 killed Dead upon the Spot; 7000 common Soldiers were taken Prisoners, with 535 Generals and other Officers; among whom, 1 Lieutenant-General, 2 Marshals de Camp, 6 Brigadiers, 20 Colonels, 187 Captains, 144 Lieutenants, 105 under Lieutenants, Cornets or Ensigns, 36 Quarter-Masters, 15 Brigadiers of the *French* King's Household, with 150 Gens d'Armes; 34 Standards, 25 Colours, with five Pair of Kettle-drums, fell likewise to the Share of the Conqueror. But their Artillery had not yet got up, and so could not be taken.

Upon the Side of the Allies were killed about 1500, and 2000 wounded. I have been the more particular in the Description of this Battle, because of the active Hand which the deceas'd Lord had in the various Scenes of the Day; and, so conscious was the Duke of *Marlborough* of the thorough Know-

Knowledge which he had of the several Accidents that had happened in that glorious Day, that he dispatched him with the News to the Queen and her Royal Confort; by whom he was received, in a Manner, rather to be conceived than expressed. They were charmed with the accurate Description which he gave of the Battle; and any one, who had heard him demonstrate the same, would have been apt to think, that, like another *Themistocles*, he knew the Names of the whole Army.

His Royal Highness, and his Queen, observed so much Address and Accuracy in his Narration, and, at the same time, so becoming a Modesty and Respect, as procured the Admiration and Esteem of them both: And, among oth r Things, Prince *George* was desirous to know how the *Danes* behaved; to which his Lordship replied, "That the private Men fought like Lions, and the Officers acted the Part of Men." An Answer which pleased him so very well, that he told the Queen, "That the Earl of *Stair* was capable of representing her Royal Person in any Court:" And this made so great an Impression on her, that, in a short Time, she sent him to the Court of *Poland*, in order to compliment King *Augustus*, one of the greatest and most illustrious Monarchs in *Europe*, on his reascending the Throne. He staid but three or four Weeks in *England*,

land, from whence he went into *Scotland*; where he was, more than ever, admired by the Nobility, who had already made Choice of him, a second Time, for representing them in the Parliament that was summoned to meet at *Westminster*, on the 8th *July*, three Days before the Battle that I have been describing. Great Numbers of young Noblemen and Gentlemen crowded to him, with a Profer of their Service, and declaring their Willingness to attend him in the Field, so much were they wrapt up in Admiration of him; but he told them, "That, if they
" inclined to serve their Country, 'twas only
" by Dangers they could arrive at Honour,
" and, tho' he was very thankful to any
" Person, who had the Welfare of the Na-
" tion so much at Heart, as to venture their
" Lives in its Cause, yet protested against
" taking any along with him, without the
" Concurrence of the Parents, the Permif-
" sion of their Guardians and Friends." By
such Methods as these, he brought over a
vast Number of Recruits and Volunteers; but,
what was most of all, he carried as it were
in his Company the Blessings, and sincerest
good Wishes of those concerned in them:
And, after a Stay of four Weeks longer, he
arrived at the Army of the Confederates,
who were then closely pursuing the Siege of
Lisle, which had been invested, on the 13th
August, by Prince *Eugene*; and which raised

fed so much the Curiosity of King *Augustus* of *Poland*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, that they came as Volunteers to assist in the Reduction of the Place.

It was scarcely supposed in *France*, that the Confederates would have adventured upon a Place so strong by Nature, and fortified by all the Ingenuity of the famous *Monsieur Vauban*; but, what cannot an Army do, when under the Command of the bravest Generals, against Men whom they had formerly driven from Fastnesses, little short of the Strength of regular Fortifications, and who had been disheartened by the Flight of their chief Commanders *, whose Example was so far followed, that there was as great a Desertion among them as formerly happened at *Ramillies*, two Years before.

The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendosme*, were ordered by *Lewis XIV.* to raise the Siege, and the Duke of *Berwick* was commanded to reinforce them. They joined between the *Dender* and the *S belde*, upon the 29th *August*; and endeavoured, to the utmost of their Power, to obey the Commands of their Grand Monarch (or at least to make People believe they wanted to fight; but, to their great Disappointment, the Confederate Army, under the Duke of *Mariborough*, were

* The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, who, with the old Pretender, fled off in the utmost Hurry and Confusion, at the Battle of *Oudenarde*.

was encamped upon the Plains of *Lisle* and ready to receive them.

Never did Troops provoke an Enemy to Battle more than the Allies did that of the *French*; for they left open all the Passages, through which they were to come: But these never hazarded an Engagement; on the contrary, the Aim of *Vendosme* was like that of *Fabius*, in another Case, to restore the Affairs of his Master, by protracting the Time, and to cut off any Supplies that might be sent to the Besiegers. They foraged up and down the Country, and, upon the 8th *September*, several Regiments arrived within a Quarter of a League of the Duke of *Marlborough's* Head-quarters. His Grace was at Dinner when the News was brought; upon which General *Webb*, who happened to be at Table with him, demanded only two *English* Battalions to drive them to their Camp. These marched immediately, and were followed by some Volunteers, among whom were the Duke of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Stair*. They fell upon them with such Fury, as to drive them into a Chatteau, encompassed with two Ditches, where some Infantry were posted.

The Troops attempted to dislodge them; which they might have effected, had not the Granadiers, and the Picquet of six Brigades, who were encamped in the Front of his Army, come seasonably up to support them.

The

The two *British* Battalions yielded to the Superiority of Numbers, and retired with the Loss of 200 Men, and 6 Officers, killed and wounded. Tho' there happened some Skirmishes between the *French* and the Duke, yet nothing material before the Town, from the 22d *August*, that the Trenches were opened, till the 7th *September*, that they were relieved by Lieutenant-General *Wilkes*, with two Major-Generals and ten Imperial and *Palatine* Battalions. The proper Dispositions being made for that Purpose, about half an Hour after seven in the Evening 2400 Granadiers, with as many Fusiliers, sustained by twelve Battalions, attacked the whole Front, reaching from the Horn-work before *Magdalene's* Gate, allong the Ravel-line and Tenaillen, as far as the other Horn-work on the Right of the *Lower Deyle*. They marched up to the Pallisadoes, from whence they drove the Enemy, and several of them leaping into the covered Way, put to the Sword all the *French* they found there, except four Officers and a few Soldiers; but they were driven from this Place by a terrible Fire, and by four Mines which were sprung, and did vast Execution among them: However, they lodged upon the salliant Angle of the Horn-work, and upon the Angle of the Tenaile; but, while this is doing on the Left, the Troops on the Right likewise lodged themselves on the salliant

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Angle

Angle of the Counterescarp of the Horn-work, and on the Top of the Ditch of the Tenailles, on the Banks of the *Lower Deyle* between the two Attacks, by which the Communications toward the Breeches were considerably advanced. There were several Volunteers in that Attack, among whom was the Earl of *Stair*, who, with his usual Intrepidity and Conduct, distinguished himself, and was taken Notice of by King *Augustus*, Prince *Eugene*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the hereditary Prince of *Hesse*, who were in the Trenches during the Action (which cost the Allies 2681 Men), and were Eye-witnesses of the undaunted Bravery with which the Assault was carried on.

The *French*, after this, made a Shew of attacking the Confederates in their Camp; but ventured no further than cannonading, in which they met with so warm a Reception, that they thought proper to withdraw; and, observing how impracticable it was to attack the Allies in their Entrenchments, they resolved to cut off their Communication with *Aeth* and *Brussels*, by making themselves Masters of all the Passes upon the *Schelde*. It was during this Cannonading, when Prince *Eugene* was absent, that the Besieged made an unsuccessful Sally, and were driven back in the greatest Confusion.

'Tis true, the Siege went not on so fast as might have been expected, but then, in every

every Action, the Numbers of the Besieged, who were rather an Army in a Field than a Garrison, were daily diminished : For, in the Attack upon the 10th, in which Prince *Eugene* was wounded, they lost above 2000 Men, and were disappointed of a Supply of Ammunition which they daily expected. And now, not only were these Accidents discouraging to them, but the daily Accounts of the Disasters of their Men, particularly at *Weynendale*, wherein they lost 3000 Men, made a considerable Impression upon them, while the daily Confirmation of the safe Arrival of Convoys to the Camp of the Besiegers, increased their Fears.

Every Day some new Advantages were gained by the Besiegers, who, on the 3d *October*, made a Lodgement upon a Ravelin on the Right, and obliged such of the Enemy as were found behind the Traverses, to leap into the Water, in which they were either killed or drowned ; by this Means they made themselves Masters of two Counter-scarps, and a Ravelin.

The Marshal *de Boufflers*, whose Bravery the *French* Historians magnify even to a Prodigy, considering, that the Garrison was weakened by a Siege so long and so bloody ; that he had still the Citadel to defend, and that every Thing was ready for a general Storm, proposed a Capitulation, in which it was agreed, to deliver up the Town upon

the 22d ; but that the Besiegers were to possess only one Gate till the 25th, at which Time the whole Garrison would be withdrawn into the Citadel. 'Tis true indeed, that the other Troops of his Master were of little Service to him, as they always retreated before the Allies ; but then, notwithstanding his superiour Abilities, especially in defending of Towns, I humbly think, that, if he had discovered a little more Courage in making Sallies upon the Enemy, and heading them himself, he might have annoyed the Besiegers more than he did ; but this Marshal's Talent did not ly in acting offensively.

It was not till the 29th, that the Citadel was bombarded. After all the Conferences for delivering it up were broken off, the Besieged began Hostilities, while the Allies contracted their Line of Circumvalation within their first Parallel, erected Batteries of Cannon, Mortar-pieces and Hawbitzers ; but, inclining to master the Outworks, before they should batter in Breach, they carried on their Approaches by sap, in which they were not much annoyed by the Fire from the Town : And, by the 13th of *November*, they made a Lodgement by the Pallisadoes of the first covered Way, with a very small Loss ; and the next Day, mastered the whole Counterscarp, except two Places of Arms which the Enemy abandoned in two Days ; and, on the 17th, they lodged themselves upon the Glacis

of

of the second covered Way, without any Loss. After this, little more was done towards their advancing, by Reason of Prince *Eugene's* Absence, for he had gone to join the Duke in succouring *Brussels*, except that they made a Lodgement upon the second Counterescarp, till the 5th *December*; when his Highness returned, and had Recourse to one of these Arts of which he was so great a Master, *viz.* making a Shew of attacking the Weakest, while, at the same time, he bent his Force against the strongest Part of the Town, by which Means it lay wholly exposed, and was battered in the most furious Manner. His Highness likewise sent a Message to Marshal *Boufflers*, to inform him of the late Success of the Confederate Forces; but this Message not having the desired Effect, he ordered Batteries to be erected on the second covered Way, and, at the same time, offered an honourable Capitulation; which, if rejected, nothing was to be expected but that the Governor and Garrison were to be made Prisoners of War: He even desired, that some Officers should be sent out to inspect his Ammunition and military Stores, which the Marshal had flattered himself the Besiegers were so much in Want of. *Boufflers*, prevailed upon by these strong Arguments, surrendered upon the 8th; and, on the 10th, marched out with all Marks of Honour, and was conducted to *Doway*.

Thus did the beautiful, polite and wealthy City and Citadel of *Lisle*, which is one of the Eyes of *France* and the *Paris* of *French Flanders*, fall into the Hands of the victorious Prince *Eugene*, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts to defend it, on the Part of the Garrison, and to raise the Siege on the Part of the *French* Troops in the Field ; all their Endeavours to stop the Passes of the *Scheld*, by which Ammunition and Provisions were conducted, proved abortive ; 24,000 Men, who marched to attack a Convoy, were totally routed at *Weynendale* by 6000 Men under General *Webb*, as I mentioned above : The overflowing of the Country, by cutting of the Dykes, could not hinder another Quantity of Store being brought by Boats into the Camp. The Elector of *Bavaria*'s Diversion, on the Side of *Brussels*, proved even fatal to *Lisle* ; he summoned the Town upon the 21st *November*, began to play from his Batteries on the 26th ; but was beat off by the Garrison after an Engagement of thirteen Hours, and obliged to raise the Siege by the timely Approach of the Allies, who had passed the *Schelde*, to their own immortal Honour, and to the Shame of the *French*, who were entrenched to the Teeth along its Banks, but fled off precipitately ; their Rear was attacked and broken, 600 of them were taken Prisoners, with great Part of their Bread-waggons and Baggage ; and now, by their
Cow-

Cowardice, were they become the Scorn of all the Nations of *Europe*.

But, before I leave this Siege, it will not be improper to take Notice of the Signal Service done by the deceas'd Lord, who, from the Time of his Arrival at the Camp, had been in perpetual Motion, and acted, very opportunely, for the Cause of the Allies.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, who had strictly observed *Vendosme's* Motions, encamped, upon the 7th *October*, at a Village called *Rousselaer*, from whence he sometimes detached several Corps for carrying on the Siege of *Lisle* with the greater Vigour, and for intimidating the Enemy; who had returned toward *Dixmuyde* and *Furnes*, and summoned the Villages about these Places to bring their Corn, and other Provisions, into *Ypres* and other fortified Places. To prevent this, the Earl of *Stair* was detached from *Rousselaer* with six Squadrons of Horse, and, being joined by four more, together with ten Battalions from the Detachment encamped at *Cortemarque* and *Lonquemarge*, he took Post at *Dixmuyde*; whence he sent an Officer, with his Commands, ordering the Inhabitants of that District, to carry their Corn and Forage to the Confederate Army, where they should be paid for the same; but threatening them with military Execution, in case they did not comply. This had the desired Effect; for, not only the Inhabitants of that District,

District, but likewise those of *Furnes*, *St. Omer's*, *St. Winorberg* and *Bourbourg*, supplied the Confederate Army with Cattle, Corn, and all Necessaries, in great Plenty, to which they were animated by the courteous Behaviour of his Lordship to the Husbandmen, who went to him : And now, though he had effectually performed that for which he was sent out, yet he did not incline to return without doing some other notable Action. His Generosity had procured him the Favour of the Country People (for he spared no Cost upon Intelligence) who endeavoured to inform him of the Strength and Situation of the Enemy now cantoned thereabout. One of them told him, that the Fort of *Haut Pont*, near *Dixmuyde*, was possessed by a Garrison which overawed the Country on that Side, and that, if once it was reduced, the Boors would be at more Liberty to act ; he immediately prepared for attacking of it, and, under Cover of some Cannon which he had planted, he made up to one Side, at the Head of 100 Men, while another Detachment was upon the other Side. He was quickly nigh to the Walls ; and, observing, that the Gate was burst open by a Cannon Bullet, he rushed into it with his Men, and seized upon it. This struck such a Terror into the Enemy, that, upon firing a few Shot, they surrendered Prisoners of War, to the Number of 200, (all Granadiers) commanded

manded by a Lieutenant-Colonel. After this, he was reinforced with five Battalions and six Squadrons, under Brigadier *Evans*, with whom he advanced to *Loo*; the Inhabitants of whose District he treated in the same Manner as he had done by the District of *Dixmuyde*, and his Arguments were equally prevalent in every Place where he went:

Nor must it be forgot, that he was complaisant to his Friends as well as to his Enemies; for he was a Friend to some, a Benefactor to many, a well Wisher to all and an Enemy to none; so mild and affable in Discourse, that none could resist his Persuasion. He carefully observed the particular Talents of the young Gentlemen whom he brought along with him, and preferred them only to such Places as he knew they were capable of. Merit was the Basis upon which this great Man's Kindness was founded; and, so unbounded was his Generosity, that he could scarce be prevailed on to allow the Gentlemen, for whom he procured Commissions, to pay for extracting of them: For his Maxim was, "Not to do Favours by Halves." He still continued with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and was with him at the taking of *Ghent*; but, as he was not much concerned in the Reduction of that Town, except in the Station of Aid de Camp, and that it surrendered in six Days, or of *Bruges*, which gave no Trouble, I shall pass those and take a Glance
of

of *Italy*; where the Duke of *Savoy* gained upon the *French*, and invaded *Dauphine* with Success, mastered *Exiles* and *Fenestrelles*, in the Frontiers of that Province, by a fair Siege. In a Word, the *French* were so much baffled every where, that, except in *S. ain*, where they took *Tortosa* and *Alicant*, Fortune did not so much as smile upon them throughout the Year 1708; so that the Miseries under which they groaned, drove them to the Necessity of suing for Peace almost upon any Terms whatsoever.

As the Duke of *Marlborough* had been detained in the *Low Countries*, on account of some Proposals made for a Peace on the Part of the *French*, so he did not arrive in *England* till the 25th *February*; when he was attended by several Nobility, among whom was the deceas'd Lord, whose Acquaintance was now universal, and who shared so largely in all the Entertainments of the Court. His Grace was now complimented by the House of Lords; but this mighty *Hosanna* was turned quickly into *crucify*; which might be owing to the Death of Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who died upon the 28th *October*, to the excessive Grief of the Queen, to whom he was the most loving Husband, yea, and of the Nation in general, to whom he was a Guardian and a Father.

Her Majesty was so much grieved for the Loss of her beloved Consort, that she could
not

not go to the House upon the 16th *November*, when the Parliament met ; but appointed Commissioners to open the same in her Name. The first Comfort that ever she had was, when she saw the Duke come in, attended by the Earl of *Stair*, and, on looking upon him, she recollected the Saying of her Royal Husband, and burst forth into Tears ; and indeed 'twas no Wonder, for he guided and directed her, in the Management of Affairs, so well, that much of the Success of the Campaign was owing to him : For he understood the Interest of all *Europe* extreamly well, and entirely conducted his Queen in the Steps of her glorious Predecessor ; but how short Time she continued to press these salutary Paths, appeared in the Sequel. A Party soon espoused the Side of the *French*, and were for making Peace at any Event, while the true Lovers of their Country insisted for prosecuting the War ; and the rather, as they were enraged at the Treachery of the *French* King, who, in the Duke of *Marlborough's* Absence, endeavoured to gain over the States, by profering them as good a Barrier as possible they could ask : But their High Mightinesses opposed Art to Craft, appointed a Minister to treat with them ; but refused to agree upon any Terms without the Consent of their Allies. For some time the *British* Parliament continued of the same Opinion, and voted such Supplies as enabled the

the Allies, with vigour, to prosecute the War ; which they were upon the Point of doing, when *France*, driven almost to despair, by the dreadful Havock which the hard Frost of the memorable Winter 1708, made upon her Vineyards, her Corn, her Trees and her Fruit, applied in good earnest for a general Peace, and gave in an Abstract of Preliminary Articles upon which the same was to be founded. She gave up the Monarchy of *Spain*, the *Dutch Barrier*, *Dunkirk*, and the pretended Prince of *Wales* ; but stuck at *Alsace*, which the Emperor insisted on. And now do I come to the memorable Year 1709, when, after all the Conferences were broken off, the War rekindled with its usual Fire ; and when the Earl of *Stair* shone with a new Lustre, as being Major-General* of the Queen's Armies.

He went over with the Duke of *Marlborough* to *Holland*, and continued with him till the breaking up of the Conferences, May 29th, when he repaired to *Scotland* for Recruits, leaving his Patron to pursue his Journey to *Brussels* ; where arriving, next Day, he and Prince *Eugene*, concerted the Operations of the Campaign, and then put themselves at the Head of the Army. The

French

* He was made Major-General, 1st January 1709, just three Years after he had been declared Colonel of the *Cameronian Regiment*, who routed the *Highlanders* at *Dunkeld* 1689.

French fortified themselves so strongly, that the Confederates found it impracticable to attack them; and therefore resolved on the Siege of *Tournay*. By thus deceiving the cunning *Villars*, who thought, from their Motions, that their Design was either upon *Ypres*, or else upon his Entrenchments, *Tournay* was invested upon the 3d *July*; and obliged to capitulate upon the 28th, notwithstanding the Efforts of the Enemy to reinforce the Garrison, who retired into the Citadel; the Siege whereof took up but few Days more before the Garrison capitulated, and the Articles were settled upon the 4th *August*: But, being sent to *France* for Ratification, and refused, it continued till *September* 3d, when it was given up, to the great Mortification of *France*, who had now lost her remaining Eye on the Side of *Flanders*. *

The Garrison had scarcely surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, when the Earl of *Stair* arrived with a great Number of Recruits; who came time enough to partake of the Laurels that soon after crowned the Heads of the Confederates, upon the 11th *September* thereafter.

The Army of the Allies, being now flushed with Victory, wanted to give one decisive Stroke, by which they might, at once, put an End to the War. The Troops marched

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* *Lille* and *Tournay* are called the Eyes of *France*.

for *Mons* the Capital of *Hainault*, upon the very Day of the Surrender of the Citadel of *Tournay*; and pursued their Rout, obliging the *French* to fly before them, and abandon their Lines, as they marched. The Enemy had a Design to attack the Prince of *Hesse*, who commanded a separate Body; but the other Generals of the Allied Army, having timely Notice of it, disposed the Troops to prevent them.

The Marshal *de Villars*, now General of the *French* Army, was fully resolved to confirm the King his Master in the good Opinion he had formed of him, and who had given him a *Charte Blanche*, to act as he should see Occasion; this great Man, observing, that the Design of the Allies was to besiege *Mons*, endeavoured to stop them; and Marshal *Boufflers*, arriving about this Time in the Army, it was resolved, in a Council of War, to venture an Engagement. In Pursuance of this Resolution, they marched from *Valenciennes*, and pitched in a strong Camp, about three Miles from *Mons*; being very conveniently situated, either for disturbing the Siege, or preventing the taking of the Place. They possessed themselves of the Woods of *Laniere*, of *Sart*, and of *Jan-sart*, with the Hedges that surround them, the Openings that Part them, and the Villages of *Tamieres* and *Malplaquet*. Here was indeed a pretty advantageous Position for them

them ; yet nothing, when compared to what next Day, viz. *September 10th*, they were in ; and, if the Allies, who marched with an unwearied Diligence, could have attacked them upon the 9th, the Victory would have cost less Bloodshed than it afterward did. Three Entrenchments cast up on their Right, one behind the other, and a marshy Ground lay before them ; their Centre, which was in a little Plain, between two Woods, was likewise secured by several Entrenchments, and defended, in proper Places, by a good Artillery ; besides all which, they felled vast Numbers of Trees, which they laid across the Ways, to obstruct the Passage of the Confederate Horse : They also cut down the Hedges behind their Lines, for the more easy March of their Cavalry, to support their Infantry, as Occasion should require. All which, with the thick Hedges that ran along their Lines, like a Chain, rendered their Camp a regular fortified Citadel.

But, while the *French Army* is digging Entrenchments, the Troops of the Allies are hastening up to drive them from their Fastnesses. On the 10th, the little Fort of *St. Gbislain* was taken Sword in Hand ; which so animated the Men, that next Day, being the 11th *September*, they obtained a compleat Victory, after the most obstinate Resistance made by the *French* during the Course of the War. At break of Day, the Men began to work

upon the Batteries ; one of twenty eight Pieces of Cannon was erected on the Left, and another of forty Pieces in the Centre, the Rest of the Artillery being distributed among the Troops of the Right Wing. About eight o' Clock the Mist, which had concealed and favoured their Schemes, being gone off, the Cannon of the Allies gave a Signal for the Battle, by a Discharge from all their Artillery. Prince *Eugene*, being on the Right, charged, with all imaginable Vigour, in Front, while the forty Pieces of Cannon, placed in the Centre, galled them in Flank, and, in a flechant Line, cut them off in Troops. The Fight was here long and bloody, his Highness always rallying and bringing the broken Squadrons back to charge ; and, at the End of two Hours, saw himself Master of the Wood, and was now got to such a Station, as to see the hinder Part of the Entrenchments of the Enemy's Centre.

The Attack on the Left Wing began about half an Hour after that of the Right. The Duke of *Argyle*, as Major-General, was ordered to begin it ; which he did, with a Bravery that cannot be sufficiently admired : And, though he had a small Hollow to pass through before he came up to the Entrenchments ; yet he advanced, opened his Breast to the Soldiers, telling them, that he had nothing to keep off a Ball more than they ;

under

under Cover of the Artillery did he advance against Batteries on Batteries, that opened wide their devouring Mouths : The Soldiers came up to the very Brink of the Ditch, and poured their Shot in upon them ; and, as they retreated, 'twas thought that the Victory was wholly gained, when, to the Amazement of the Allies, the *French* sheltered themselves in another Ditch, and repeated their furious Shock ; which only enraged their Oponents the more : They furiously leapt over the first Entrenchment, and drove them from the second, and even from the third, making the Field clear upon that Quarter. But, while the Troops of the Allies are performing Miracles of Bravery, the deceas'd Lord was not an idle Spectator of the various Scenes : He broke into one of the Entrenchments, notwithstanding a most furious Cannonade, and, falling upon them Sword in Hand, with his Squadron, he made a prodigious Slaughter of them. 'Tis certain, that never Men behaved more gallantly than the Allies did upon that Day. Some Men were observed, to take up their Arms and run into their Ranks, after getting their Wounds dressed ; and others, to fight upon their very Stumps after their Legs were shot off : Nor must we here forget the Extraordinary Bravery of the young Prince of *Friso*, who commanded the *Dutch* Infantry, and who, after gaining and losing the two

first Entrenchments twice, advanced with one of the Colours in his Hand ; fixed them on the Entrenchment, and called to his Soldiers, *Come hither, my Friends, come hither to me.* His Troops obeyed ; but were obliged to yield to the Numbers which the Marquis d' Artagnan, the Glory of the *French* upon that Day, had brought up against him : Being overpowered, he made them retire behind the Hedges, till he had Intelligence, that the Right Wing and the Centre had overthrown the Enemy ; upon which, he returned to the Charge, forced his Way into the Plain where the Cavalry had been posted, to gather his Share of the Laurels. He was indeed much obliged to the Prince of *Hesse*, who would not stand to charge the Enemy's Horse, but turned about, without Hesitation, to the Left, and attacked in Flank that Part of the Enemy's Infantry who were engaged with the Prince. This was a decisive stroke, and rendered his Highness capable of renewing the Charge, and acting more to Advantage, by breaking through the third Entrenchment ; after which, they made Havock of all who came near them. The Enemy's Horse made some Shew of Resistance, but these were broken and routed by the *Hanoverian* and *Prussian* Squadrons.

Nor must it be forgot, that the *Swedish* Monarch would not have been capable of doing so real a Piece of Service to the Prince

of

of *Orange*, had not his Battalions been replaced by those under the Command of the Earl of *Stair*, who, at the Head of the Cameroonian Regiment, marched up to the Ground where the Prince of *Hesse* at first was posted. Thus ended a Battle, the most terrible and the most bloody (there being about 100,000 Men on each Side) that was fought during the Course of the War. In it the *French* lost 17,000 Men, among whom 301 Officers taken Prisoners, 540 killed, and 1668 wounded, many of whom died afterwards. Marshal *Villars* was wounded dangerously in the Knee, on which Marshal *Boufflers* commanded the Retreat, which was executed with as much Order as could be expected in so general a Confusion. Among the other wounded Officers were the Princes *Lambesin* and *Montbaron*, and the Old Pretender received a Wound in the Right Arm. On the Side of the Allies were killed about 20,000 Men; among the wounded were Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, Lieutenant-Generals *Spar*, *Wackervert* and *Hamilton*, with several others too tedious here to mention.

The News of this Victory being confirmed, notwithstanding the romantick *Rhodomantadoes* of the *French*, to colour their Losses, great Rejoicings were made in the Capitals of the Powers concerned in the Alliance, Medals were struck on the glorious Event; and the *French* Generals, observing how unequal

equal they were to engage the Allies, retired to *Valenciennes*, where they sheltered themselves behind strong Lines, not venturing to raise the Siege of *Mons*, which was closely invested, on the 21st *September*, by the Prince of *Orange* in Person.

The Trenches were opened upon the 25th, with all imaginable Success. Here the deceas'd Lord acted up to that Bravery which formerly had rendered him so remarkable in the Army : For, at the Attack of the Gate of *Havre*, where a Parallel was run along the Foot of the Glacis, he was amidst the hottest of the Fire with his Regiment ; and, when General *Cadogan* was wounded, he sustained the Charge. Fort *Nimy* was taken next Day ; and indeed, scarce two Days past, from the 26th *September* to the 8th *October*, without some considerable Advantage, tho' it cost several Lives : And from the 8th the Besiegers bombarded the Place till the 15th, when 1600 Men took the second Counterscarp of the Horn-work, having taken the first about eight Days before. The *English* Battalions attacked the Horn-work of *Bertamont*, and annoyed the Enemy so much with their Bombs and Grenadoes, that, when the Earl of *Stair* had mounted the Breach, with ten of the *Cameronian* Regiment at his Back, he was amazed to find, that they had not only abandoned it, but also the Ravilin ; the Allies forthwith pursued this

this Advantage, and took a little Outwork, without losing a Man. This so terrified the *French*, that, after some small Resistance, for three or four Days, they hung out white Flaggs over against two Places, where they easily saw two Attacks were designed; and, on the 21st, surrendered the Place, upon Condition of being allowed to march out with all the Honours of War, but without Cannon or Mortars. The Reduction of this Place, which ended the Campaign, at which they did not make so much as one Line of Circumvallation, entirely convinced the *French* themselves, that the Battle of *Malplaquet* had not rendered the Allies incapable of further Action, as they were pleased to give out.

After settling the Division of the Winter-quarters, Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* proceeded to the *Hague*, where they conferred with the State's Deputies, and recommended a vigorous prosecution of the War. Afterward these two great Generals separated, the Duke setting out on the 7th *November*, for *England*, and next Day landed at *Aldborough*, in *Suffolk*; and, on the 10th, arrived at *St. James's* with a numerous Retinue, among whom was the deceas'd Lord. As his Grace received the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, so his Aid de Camp was caressed and regaled wherever he appeared; and, on the 8th *December*, was appointed

pointed Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of *Poland*, in order to Compliment King *Augustus* on reascending the Throne.

As I have mentioned this great Man, it will not be improper to give a short Sketch of the Troubles of the North, out of which he was now extruated by the most surprizing Deliverance.

He had got himself elected King of *Poland*, upon the 15th September 1697, in Opposition to all the Intrigues of the Cardinal *Primate*, in favours of the *French* Candidate the Prince of *Conti*. He arrived at *Warsaw*, where he was welcomed by the loudest Acclamations, and was admired for his Address by all who came near him; for never King possessed the Royal Virtues in higher Perfection than he: His Courage and Conduct, as a Soldier, was shown in the *Hungarian* War against the *Turks*, and, in private, no Man distributed his Favours with a better Grace. Short lived, however, was his peaceable Possession; for the *Poles*, over jealous of their Liberties, begun to murmur at their Monarch's retaining in the Kingdom his *Saxon* Guards. To stop their Mouths, he fell on a Pretext to keep them, and proposed the regaining of *Livonia*, which was once subject to the *Polish* Nation; but this Step carried along with it a Chain of Misfortunes, which proved destructive to the Powers at War.

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The King of *Sweden*, then but eighteen Years of Age, stood up in Defence of his Dominions, and, after obliging the King of *Denmark*, to sign the Treaty of *Travendal*, so advantageous to him, by his successful Descent in *Tyberupsmark* in *Zealand*; and giving a total Defeat to 100,000 *Moscovites* at *Narva*, only with 8000 Men, he marched into *Livonia*, and pursued the Duke of *Courland*, who commanded the *Saxons*, as far as the Banks of the *Dwina*; which he crossed over by Means of a Smoak, caused by wet Straw that he had ordered to be fired; attacked his Troops, and totally dispersed them. He quickly over-run *Courland*, whose Towns sent out their Keys to him; and afterwards, being invited by some malecontent *Poles*, he entered *Lithuania*, fully resolved to dethrone King *Augustus*, against whom he was enraged for contracting, at *Birsen*, an Alliance with the Czar, which, in time, might prove fatal to *Europe*.

The King of *Poland* mustered his Army, in order to dispute for his Crown; but was defeated, upon the 19th *July* 1702, by the Fortune of the King of *Sweden*, and the Cowardice of the fluctuating *Poles*. This Blow was attended with a Series of such Misfortunes, as ended in the dethroning of him, and crowning a young Nobleman, named *Stanislaus Leckfinski*, in his Room. His Partisans generally lost Heart, but Courage never

ver abandoned himself ; for he maintained a War, almost with the Troops of his own Electorate, against the King of *Sweden*, whose Generals were sometimes as terrible to his Troops as their Master : For, at *Fraustadt* 1706, an Army of 20,000 *Saxons* was routed by the *Swedish* Mareschal *Rencbild*, just as they were advancing into the Kingdom to restore their Elector.

The King of *Sweden*, after driving the *Russians* to the very Borders of *Poland*, marched up to join *Rencbild* ; and, in *September*, both entered *Saxony*, where the *Swedes* subsisted for a full Year. During which Time, their King considerably augmented his Army, proposed to King *Augustus* to renounce his Crown, and acknowledge *Stanislaus* ; which Thing he did, for the Ease of his natural Subjects : But indeed this Act of the King of *Poland* was rather for Conveniency than from Choice, and he laid hold of the first Opportunity to break his Engagement ; for, upon the King of *Sweden*'s unhappy Departure from *Poland*, in pursuit of the *Russians* *, he hired Troops from
all

* It was given out, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had set him upon this Expedition, in *April* 1707 ; but, whoever considers the Matter will find, that *Charles* needed no Person to incense him against the *Czar* : And, for my part, I cannot think but the Scheme, for dethroning that Emperor, was so laid, that it must infallibly have taken Place, if the most
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all the Branches of his House ; but delayed entering upon Action till he should see the End of his Enemy's Expedition. The *Swedes* had frequently beat the *Russians*, notwithstanding their Superiority, during the Course of this Invasion ; but, as the mighty Hopes of being joined by the whole *Cossacks*, blew up, and, as the defeating the Convoys from *Sweden*, under General *Lewenhaupt*, who had disciplined the *Russians*, in *Livonia*, by fighting sometimes 7000 against 60,000, 8000 against 80,000, hindered his Army from being recruited : So, with the Remainder of Troops, which had not been cut off by Famine, the Sword, or by Cold, perhaps the finest in the World, he was obliged to fight an Enemy in his own Country, where he was getting constant Supplies. I shall not now enter into a Description of the Battle of *Poltowa* ; only observe, that the *Russians* and *Swedes* have given the most contrary Accounts of it. Indeed it must be owned, that *Monsieur Voltaire*, for whom I have the highest Regard, has servilely copied his Relation of that memorable Engagement from the Memoirs of *Peter the Great*, printed in four Volumes, at *Amsterdam*. 'Tis pretty evident, both from *Hamilton*, the *Scots Gentleman's* Account, and that subjoined to the Memoirs of *Gustavus Alderfeldt*, which make it the most

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unforseen Accidents had not baffled the Designs of the *Swedish* Monarch.

most glorious, tho' fatal Day, that ever *Sweden* saw; that the *Muscovites* had nothing to boast of, if Bravery only be regarded: And here I cannot but endeavour to reconcile the Accounts which clash so much together. 'Tis pretty certain, that *Charles XII.* whose Leg was wounded and swathed about with Bandage, commanded one Wing of the Army, (which did not consist of 12,000 Troops, in full Vigour, and free from Wounds); as also, that he passed through the Redoubts, without answering their Fire, and that, with his usual Valour, he broke and routed the *Muscovite* Horse; was just upon the Point of attacking the grand Entrenchment, when, to his Surprise, he was told, that his left Wing was broken, through the unaccountable Management of General *Roos*, who had squandered his Troops away in Attacks upon the Redoubts, that were opposite to his Quarter: That the *Russians* might have pursued these shattered Remains, like a Flock of Sheep, as they call it, seems no way inconsistent with the King of *Sweden's* breaking that Line against which he made Head in Person. So far, I think, the Contradiction may be removed, without charging the one or other with a Falshood; but that Man shall be to me as an Oracle, who can reconcile these two Parts of the History: The *first* is, That *Charles* only moved back to his Camp, in the best Order, not inclining, with his Wing, singly,

singly, to attack the *Russian* Works and Armies; that he rested himself in it for several Hours, dined upon it, and then, without the least Emotion, entered into a Coach, and marched off with his Army, the Drums beating and Colours flying, the *Russians* not daring to pursue them. The *second*, That *Charles's* Litter was broken in Pieces, and himself bruised, and obliged to be carried upon Pikes from the Field; and that he rambled all Night in a Wood, expecting every Moment to be seized by the Enemy. The surrender of *Lewenbaup* at *Porewolock-sna* is ascribed by the *Swedes* to Infatuation, and, by the *Russians*, to the Terror which they bore in their Names. I should not have made this Observation, if it was not to shew, that *British* Authors are not single to differ from one another; but that the Authors of Wars and Rebellions, both in the North and South of *Europe*, sometimes clash in their Accounts: However it be, *Sweden* put on Mourning for the fatal Disaster, which *Charles* might easily have remedied, if his Greatness of Soul, degenerating into Rashness and Folly, had not prevented the Execution of the most salutary Schemes. King *Augustus* was the first to reap Advantage from the decisive Stroke; for, in *August* thereafter, he entered *Poland*, with 10,000 Men, publishing a Manifesto as he went, shewing, That the Treaty of *Altrandstadt* was contradictory to his former

Oaths; and that Nothing but Necessity, which has no Law, ever obliged him in the least to comply with it. The *Polish* Nation, like the Trees of a Forest, ready to bend according to the Wind, recognized King *Augustus*; who received Ambassadors from most of the Courts of *Europe*, acknowledging his Title, and complimenting him on his ascending the Throne. Among the Number of these Envoys was the deceas'd Lord, who set out upon the 15th *December* 1709; but, afterwards, his Presence was found so necessary in the Army, that he repaired to it, and was made a Lieutenant General on the 1st of *January* 1710. He continued with it till the Beginning of the Spring, when he set out for *Warsaw*, which he entered, upon the 2nd *February*, in a very splendid and magnificent Manner; and was next Day received by King *Augustus*, with all the Politeness and Decency imaginable: That Monarch expressed his great Satisfaction with the Choice which his Royal Mistress had made of his Lordship, to represent her Person at Court. He contracted a vast Intimacy with the deceas'd Lord, made him a Party in all his pleasures, and a Companion in his whole Diversions. What made his *Polish* Majesty more fond of him was, because he knew the Affection the Duke of *Marlborough* had for him, and how much his Grace had countenanced him, when he came to the Siege of *Lisle*;

Lisle; likewise communicated to him his Apprehensions from the *Swedes* assembling an Army in *Pomerania*, and desired, that he should write to the Duke of *Marlborough* about it; which he did, in the strongest Terms, and frankly gave his Opinion, that effectual Measures should be taken to keep them in a State of Inaction.

In *April*, the Allies took the Castle of *Pionguville* and *Mortaigne*, and made the Enemy fly before them; and invested *Doway*, on the, 22d *April*, and opened Trenches before it upon the 24th, carrying on the Siege, with great Vigour, till the 29th, when the Garrison made a Sally; but were driven back, by General *McKartney*, to the very Counterscarp of the Place. On the 12th *May*, they again sallied out, but were driven back, by Colonel *Preston*, in the greatest Disorder; and, on the 17th, took a little Horn-work, in the Front of their Approaches, with very small Loss. Next Day an other Sally was attempted; but, on the Approach of the Earl of *Stair*, who had come from *Warsaw* on Purpose to confer with the Duke of *Marlborough*, concerning the Measures to be taken with the *Swedes*, they retired with the utmost Precipitation. He continued with his Grace till the 26th, acting as a Volunteer in most of the Attacks; when he was, by a special Commission from the Queen, on account of his Merit, made a Knight of the

Noble Order of the Thistle. His Lordship was introduced into the Room appointed for the Ceremony, by the Marquis of *Harwich*; and, being on his Knees, supported by the Earls of *Orrery* and *Orkney*, he received the Ensigns of the Order from the Duke of *Marlborough*, who put the Ribbon and Medal about his Neck; tendered the Oath and Statutes to him, in Presence of many General Officers, to whom he afterward gave a grand Entertainment, and appeared more than usually satisfied with what he had done. As the Business would not permit the Earl to continue any longer at the Siege, he again set out for *Warsaw*, with full Power to act as he should see cause; and, at the same time, with positive Injunctions to inform the King of *Poland* how much the Duke of *Marlborough* had his Interest at Heart. It is not my Business now to enter minutely into an Account of what happened in *Poland* during the Ambassy of the deceas'd Lord; I shall only observe, that King *Augustus* entered closely into an Alliance with the King of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, against the Kings of *Sweden*, and that these, with the Czar, harassed his Troops, and attacked them on every Quarter, tho' sometimes they were made to smart for their Procedure; witness the Battles of *Helsingburgh* 1711, and *Gadebusch* 1713, where the present Marshal *Saxe* learned his first Rudiments in the Art of War. 'Tis

true,

true indeed, these brave Troops, who had gained so much Glory in these Actions with General *Steinbock*, were made Prisoners afterwards ; and the unfortunate King of *Sweden*, anno 1714, returned to his Dominions, then desolate and almost ready to receive the Conqueror. But, to return to the Earl of *Stair* : He was all this Time at *Warsaw*, in the closest Friendship and Correspondence with his *Polish* Majesty, who sometimes did him the Honour to dine at his House ; and one Day, being at Dinner, the King, who had a surprising Dexterity, added to an incredible Strength of Body, took one of the Silver Plates in his Hand, and folded it up like a Piece of Tin ; and, correcting his Mistake, he begged of the *British* Ambassador to be excused : For, said he, “ I was thinking “ upon something.” His Excellency accepted his Apology, returned the Compliment with all the Sweetness and Grace that could be shown from such an Ambassador to so great a King.

One other Day, his *Polish* Majesty and he, being pretty familiar, the former took up a Sword in his Hand, with which he made some flourishes, and caused the Blade spring from the Handle : He told the Earl, that he never saw a Sword, but he could use in the same Manner. His Lordship insinuated, at a Distance, that one of his Servants had a *Scots* Sword, which was one of the strongest
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and best compacted that he had ever seen ; the King, immediately taking the Hint, desired, that the Man might be brought in : For, says he, “ I design to try, whether the *Scots* “ Sword will defy me, or, if I can break it.” On this, Mr. *Lamond* (the Man’s Name) was brought in, and gave the Sword into the King’s own Hand. He endeavoured to make it spring, in the usual Way ; but, tho’ the Blade was abundantly flexible, yet it was so closely united to the Handle, that all his Efforts were in vain : On which he turned very merry, and, with a sweet and jocose Air, said, “ The *Scots* Sword has defied me ; and “ therefore I will cause strike a Medal in “ Honour of its Master :” Which accordingly was done, with the Arms of *Poland* on one Side, and, on the other, a naked Man wielding a naked Sword, with this Inscription, to the best of my Author’s Remembrance, *Vis tandem inæqualis*.

Thus he continued for four Years ; in which Time he contracted an Acquaintance with the most Part of the Foreign Ambassadors, and framed to himself a clear Idea of the Interests of the several Courts in the North. He is thought, by some, to have been the first, who, by Means of the Duke of *Marlborough*, projected the Renunciation of *Bremen* and *Verden*, on the Part of the King of *Demark*, in favours of King *George* I. and, as this was an additional Jewel to his Majesty’s

Majesty's *German Dominions*, so it was afterwards the very Means by which *Sweden* was saved; as 1,000,000 Crowns were granted to that Kingdom by his late Majesty, and a powerful Fleet sent up the *Baltick*, to stop the Incurfions of the *Ruffians*, and to bring about a Peace; which was afterwards actually done.

He was called home in the Year 1713, when he was stript of all his Employments; and, having lived very splendidly at *Warsaw*, he contracted some Debts, which, at that Time, lay heavy upon him. His Plate and Equipage were ready to be arrested; and perhaps should have been exposed to Sale, if one Mr. *Lawson*, who was a Lieutenant in the *Cameronian Regiment*, had not, generously, granted him a Loan of 1800 *l.* and it is hard to say, whether Mr. *Lawson's* Goodness, or the Earl of *Stair's* Gratitude, ever after, was most to be admired. He now returned from Court to his own Estate, thus following the Fate of his Patron, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had been served in the same Manner about two Years before: And here it will not be improper to give a short Sketch of the Affairs in *Britain*, which had such an Effect upon those of the Continent, from the Year 1709, to the Peace of *Utrecht*, September 1713.

The deplorable State of the House of *Bourbon*, could now no longer lye concealed.

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In *Europe* she was rifled of her most valuable Jewels, and her Armies were flying, from Post to Pillar, before the Troops of the Allies. Fortune likewise frowned upon her on the opposite Side of the Globe; daily News arrived of large and valuable Captures taken from her, and of the Defeat of her Fleets upon the Sea, while Famine and Discord pryed upon her very Vitals; Losses upon Losses, and one Disaster following on the Back of another, at last prevailed upon *Lewis XIV.* to think of his own Preservation. Scared at the near Approach of the Allies, chagrined at the Loss of *Tournay* and *Lisle*, and disappointed of the Funds that could give Vigour to the War; he dreaded the Vengeance which was reserved for his grey Hairs, on account of the monstrous Cruelties exercised toward his Protestant Subjects; the Poverty brought on his Popish Remnant, by the heaviest Load of Taxes, with the Blood and Rapine committed, by his Means, on the neighbouring Nations around him: He now became somewhat tractable, and was prevailed on to think of some salutary Schemes. His Proposals for Peace had hitherto been rejected; his Attempt, to draw off the *Dutch* from the Alliance, had been disappointed: And so he had Recourse to some other Means. He had long observed the Ascendant of the *English* Nation, both in the Cabinet and in the Field; and therefore he bethought himself

self of applying to the *British* Court, in Hopes of rendering them, by polishing, more docile than the States of the United Provinces. His two Maxims were *one against all, Divide and govern*; and indeed it must be owned, that no confederate Body, though linked together with the strongest Bonds, is equal to an entire one, that solely depends upon itself.

Ever since the Battle of *Hockstet*, the famous Count *Tallard*, whom the *French* Ministry judged a very proper Person, for bringing the *British* Court into the Views of his Master; had continued in *England*, where he had resided in the Quality of Ambassador in the former Reign. He was a Nobleman of consummate Policy, of deep Disimulation; and so artful in disguising his Sentiments, that he never appeared more indifferent than when he was most intent upon Business; and, when seeming to fluctuate in his Opinion, then was he absolutely resolved. He had got a liberal Education, and had made so great a Progress in mathematical Learning, as to be admitted a Member of the Royal Accademy of Sciences at *Paris*. He had an excellent Genius for Agriculture and Botany, and understood the Art of Gardening extremely well, in which particular Branch he had assisted many Persons of Distinction, and insinuated himself into their Affections; and, at proper Seasons, introduced, by
Way

Way of Discourse, the Advantages that would accrue to the *British* Nation, by entering into a separate Peace with *France*, whom they never could conquer on the Side of *Brabant*. Toward the End of the Year 1710, their Minds being entirely framed, by the powerful Eloquence of his Mouth; but more prevailing Arguments, of some well placed Sums, he at last formed such a Party in the Ministry as entirely got the better of the famous Duke of *Marlborough*, and, consequently, of those who were of his Party: And, even so far did the Spirit of Opposition spread itself against him, that the Duke of *Argyle* objected, to returning that truly great Man the Thanks of the House of Lords for his Services during the Campaign 1710; in which, beside the taking of *Doway*, the Army invested *Bethune*, on the 15th *July*, and opened Trenches before it on the 24th, and took Possession of it on the 1st *September*. *St. Venant* which continued for fourteen Days to make a Defence, and *Aire*, whose Siege lasted six Weeks, followed the Fate of their Sister-towns. The Campaign indeed was every Way commendable; but perhaps nothing, when compared with former Actions, or with the Success of the Allies in *Spain*, who, by the Battle of *Almenara*, gave King *Charles* Entrance into *Aragon*, where he advanced, in large Steps, in pursuit of the Enemy; and, after an obstinate Action,

Action, obliged them to retire from *Penalva* to *Saragossa*; where, of 50 Battalions and 60 Squadrons, not above 400 escaped. From thence he entered victorious into *Madrid*; whence he sent to the Court of *Portugal*, to desire their Army might march toward the Frontiers of *Castile*: But this was not complied with, by reason of the Wetness of the Weather, and the bad State the Cavalry was in. This restored the Affairs of King *Philip*, and sunk those of King *Charles* lower than he had known since his first Arrival in *Spain*: For the Enemy, being recruited, set out in pursuit of the *English* under General *Stanhope*; with whom they came up, on the 9th *December*, at a small Town called *Bribnega*, where they had posted themselves, and made a gallant Defence, till the Arrival of Count *Staremburg* with 27 Battalions and 9 Squadrons, to meet whom King *Philip* and the Duke of *Vendosme* had marched; and, on the 10th *December*, were attacked with 30 Battalions and 80 Squadrons, most of which were cut in Pieces: But the Surrender of the *English* at *Bribnega*, with the Want of Provisions, obliged *Staremburg*, notwithstanding his Advantage, to retreat to *Barcelona*, while *Ghironne* and *Balaguer* both surrendered to the *French*, who thus happily ended a Campaign which they had so ingloriously begun. But, as the Affairs at Home chiefly concern us, I shall

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Speak a little of the Engines that were made use of by *France*, for playing of these Bolts that almost overturned our System.

Mr. *Harley*, afterward Earl of *Oxford*, had obtained a large Share of the Queen's Favour, during the Time of his being Secretary of State ; and, as a Discovery was made, of a private Correspondence which he carried on with *France*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* offered to resign if he was not removed. The Queen, after long Hesitation, consented he should give up his Post ; thus far following the Directions of these two Lords, tho' it was visible that she entertained some Distrust of them ever after. Upon the Duke's Departure for *Holland*, there were not wanting some Courtiers to whisper in the Ear of her Majesty Things highly detrimental to him ; and, as she was not now under the Conduct of her Royal Husband, her female Mind was easily wrought on, and soon moulded to the Insinuations of the Times. The Dutchess of *Marlborough*, who had been educated with her, found her Reception every Day colder at Court : A total Change happened in the Ministry ; the Parliament was dissolved, and a new one was called. The Elections were carried on with great Warmth ; but the High Church-party * generally prevailed, and
very

* That is, the Party that became Profelytes to the
slavish

very many Gentlemen, of great Interest, lost their Elections by being esteemed Whigs; and, in *Scotland*, this was the Fate of the deceas'd Lord. On meeting of the Parliament, her Majesty was far from mentioning the Success of the former Campaigns, but barely recommended carrying on the War, especially in *Spain*; mentioned the Debts of the Navy, and other Offices; urged the Justice of satisfying parliamentary Engagements; declared her own Affection to the Church of *England* and *British* Constitution, and her Resolution to maintain the Toleration to Dissenters, and the Protestant Succession.

The Parliament now moulded, according to the *French* Scheme, were far from pursuing the Steps that rendered the *English* Name as terrible as that of a *Roman*, declared their Willingness to shut the Temple of *Janus*, and agree upon equal Terms of Accommodation; which were presented, on the Part of the *French*, to her Majesty, and then by them both to the Rest of the Allies. And, tho' the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Summer of 1711, had obtained the greatest of Honours, yet the Tongues and Pens of the Multitude were drawn against him: The forcing the *French* Lines, *August* 1711, without Bloodshed, and the taking *Bouchain*,

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whose

lavish Doctrine of Doctor *Sacheverel*, who preached up the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and the arbitrary Power of Kings:

whose Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War, in Sight of the whole *French* Army, Actions, among the most glorious that attended the War, served only to stir up People to complain, of spending Lives, Money, and Ammunition, in the Reduction of Walls and of fortified Towns; and, altho' a Party still continued in Parliament, who vigorously insisted on prosecuting the War, yet an Incident had lately happened which entirely changed the Face of Affairs. The Emperor *Joseph* having died at *Vienna*, on the 6th *April* 1711, was succeeded by his Brother *Charles* VI. who was then Candidate for the Crown of *Spain*; and, by the Recommendation of *Queen Anne* and the States General, was unanimously elected Emperor of the *Romans*, notwithstanding the Requests and Protestations of the Electors of *Bararia* and *Cologne*, supported by the *French* and the Pope.

The Friends of *France*, at the Court of *Britain*, were now furnished with a very powerful Argument, viz. That their Aim was gained; and to what Purpose spend any more Treasure, or shed any more Blood, since the whole was over? The Preliminaries of Peace were relished by the *British* Ministry; and, notwithstanding the Opposition made to them by the Emperor, the States General, and by the Court of *Hanover*, the Conferences went on.

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All the Instances made against entering into Terms inconsistent with the Grand Alliance, and the repeated Declarations of the Queen and Parliament, served only to stir up some People to invent new Arguments; among which were these: That *Great Britain*, who was but an Ally, bore the principal Burthen of War. But every Person must quickly see, that *Britain* was actually a Principal in it, as she fought for the Protestant Succession, and avoided a popish Prince by means of the *French King*: Nor was this all; for we were struggling for the Security of our Trade, especially that to *Spain* and the *Spanish West-Indies*, upon which the very Life of *Britain* so much depends. Yea, it was made out by the old Ministry, that both the Emperor and the *Dutch* had furnished their Quota of Troops, and paid their Proportion of the War.

The Duke of *Ormond* being declared Commander in Chief, in Place of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had been dismissed from all his Employments in the 30th *December*, embarked for *Holland*, in the Spring of the Year 1712; and, having held several Conferences at *Tournay*, he set out from thence to the Confederate Army, which, to the Number of 122,250, lay encamped between *Doway* and *Marchiennes*. On the 26th *May*, the Army broke up, and, having paid the *Scheldt*, encamped between *Noyelles*

elles and *Montre Court* ; and, by throwing up Lines, took care to keep open a Communication with *Marchiennes* and other Places. The Enemies Troops lay at a small Distance, and might have been attacked with the utmost Advantage, had not the Duke of *Ormond* declined entering into Prince *Eugene's* Proposal of Fighting ; and declared, that his Orders were, not to enter upon any Action against the Enemy, either by Battle or Siege.

This Declaration gave a stunning Blow to the common Cause, and took out of the Hands of the Allies an Opportunity of making what Terms they pleased. The Representations of Prince *Eugene*, and of the States General, were of none Effect ; for, upon the 16th *July* 1712, a Cessation of Arms was published in the *British* and *French* Camps. This Separation was very fatal to the Allies ; for they not only lost Courage, but every Day were visited with new Disasters : Their Convoys were taken, with the Guard that surrounded them, and their Lines were forced at *Denain* ; *Marchiennes*, *Doway*, *Quesnoy* and *Bouchain* were invested one after another, and quickly fell into the Hands of the *French*, whose Success was so great, that the other Powers were soon brought into the Terms proposed for a general Peace ; which was concluded, at *Utrecht*, *September* 1713, the Substance of whose Articles is as follows:

This

This Peace being concluded between *France* and all the Allies, except the Emperor and Empire ; I shall here give an Abstract of the most material Articles, in the several Treaties, passing by only Matters of Form, and such other Particulars as have no Relation to *Great Britain*.

By the 4th Article of the Treaty between *Great Britain* and *France*, the *French King* acknowledges, and approves the Act of Limitation of the Succession to the Kingdom of *Great Britain* : And on the Faith and Word of a King, and on the Pledge of his own and his Successors Honour, he does declare and engage, That no one, besides the Queen herself, and her Successors, according to the Series of the said Limitation, shall ever by him, or by his Heirs or Successors, be acknowledged, or reputed to be King or Queen of *Great Britain*. And whereas the *Pretender* is lately gone, of his own Accord, out of the Kingdom of *France* ; the said most *Christian King*, his Heirs and Successors, will take all possible Care that he shall not, at any Time thereafter, or under any Pretence whatsoever, return into the Dominions of *France*, or any the Dominions thereof.

And, by the 5th Article, He in like Manner engages, not to disturb or molest her Majesty, her Heirs, or Successors in the Protestant Line ; and that he will not
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give any Succour, or Aid, to any that shall endeavour to oppose the said Succession.

In the 6th Article, the King of *Spain's* Renunciation of the Crown of *France*, and the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, their Renunciation of the Crown of *Spain*, with the *French* King's Letters Patents admitting and confirming the said Renunciations, being inserted, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the most *Christian* King, engage to each other solemnly, and on their Royal Words, That nothing ever shall be done by them, or their Heirs and Successors, or allowed to be done by others, whereby the said Renunciations, and the other Transactions aforementioned, may not have their full Effect: But, on the contrary, their Royal Majesties, with joint Councils and Forces, will always sincerely take that Care, and use those Endeavours, that the said Foundations of the Publick Safety, (*viz.* the Separation of the *French* and *Spanish* Crowns) may remain unshaken, and be preserved untouched for ever.

By the 7th, That there shall be a free Use of Navigation and Commerce, as heretofore in time of Peace, and before the Declaration of the last War.

By the 9th, The most *Christian* King shall demolish the Fortifications of *Dunkirk* at his own Expence, within five Months after the Conclusion of the Peace.

By the 10th, The most *Christian* King obliges

bliged himself to restore to *Great Britain*, the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, with the Lands, Seas, Sea Coasts, Rivers, and Places situate in the said Bay and Streights ; with the Fortresses there erected, in the Condition they now are, and also all the Cannon and Cannon Ball therein, with a proportionable Quantity of Powder, and other Provisions of War usually belonging to Cannon. Provided, That the Subjects of *France* have Liberty to remove themselves and their other Effects ; and Commissaries on the Part of *Britain* and *France* shall determine, within a Year, the Limits to be fixed between the said Bay of *Hudson*, and the Places appertaining to the *French* ; which Limits, both the *British* and *French* Subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby go to each other by Sea or Land : And the same Commissaries shall also settle the Boundaries between the other *British* and *French* Colonies in those Parts.

By the 11th, Satisfaction shall be given to the *English* Company trading to *Hudson's* Bay, for all Depredations of the *French* in Time of Peace : And Satisfaction shall also be given to the *French*, for any Damage done them by the *British* Subjects in Time of Peace.

By the 12th, The Island of *St. Christopher's*, *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, *Port-Royal*, or *Annapolis Royal*, with their Lands and Dependencies, are entirely yielded and made over

to *Great Britain*, in such ample Manner, that the Subjects of *France* shall be hereafter excluded from all kind of Fishing in the said Seas, Bays, and other Places on the Coasts of *Nova Scotia*; that is to say, on those which lye towards the East, within 30 Leagues, beginning from the Island, commonly called *Sable*, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the South-West.

By the 13th, The Island of *Newfoundland*, with the adjacent Islands, shall belong of Right wholly to *Britain*: But the Subjects of *France* shall be allowed to catch Fish, and dry them on the Land, in that Part only of the said Island, and no other, which stretches from the Place called *Cape Bonavista* to the Northern Point of the said Island, and from thence, running down the Western Side, reaches as far as the Place called *Point Riche*; but the *French* shall not fortify any Place in *Newfoundland*, or erect any Buildings there, besides Stages made of Boards, and Hutts necessary and usual for drying of Fish: But the Island called *Cape Breton*, and all others in the Mouth of the River *St. Laurence*, and in the Gulph of that Name, shall belong to the *French*, who may fortify any Places there.

By the 14th, The Subjects of *France* are to have the Space of a Year to remove themselves, and their Effects, from the Places and Colonies yielded by *France*; but those who choose to remain, and be subject to

Great

Great Britain, may enjoy the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, as far as the Laws of *Great Britain* allow of the same.

By the 15th, The *French* inhabiting *Canada*, and other Countries in *America*, shall give no Disturbance to the five Nations of *Indians*, subject to *Britain*, or to the other Natives of *America* their Friends; and the *British* Subjects shall behave themselves peaceably towards the *Americans*, who are Subjects or Friends of *France*; and there shall be a free Intercourse of Trade between the *French* and *English*, and the Natives of those Countries: And it shall be settled by Commissaries, who are, and who ought to be accounted the Subjects and Friends of *Britain*, or of *France*.

By the 20th, Just and reasonable Satisfaction shall be given, to all and singular the Allies of *Great Britain*, in those Matters which they have a right to demand of *France*.

By the 21st, The *French* King agrees, That in the Treaty with the Emperor and Empire, the State of Religion shall be settled in the Empire, conformably to the treaty of *Westphalia*.

By the 22d, Satisfaction shall be given to the Family of *Hamilton*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and *Charles Douglas*, as to their several Demands in *France*.

By the 24th, The Treaty between *France* and *Portugal* is confirmed, and her *British* Majesty

Majesty takes upon her the Guarrantee of the same.

By the 25th, The same is done as to the Treaty between *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*.

By the 26th, The King of *Sweden*, the Duke of *Tuscany*, the Republick of *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Parma*, are included in this Treaty.

By the 27th, The Hanse Towns are also comprehended in the Treaty, and are to enjoy the ancient Advantages they had in Point of Trade.

This Peace, inglorious as it was, considering the Success of the Allies, was not the only Result of blinded Counsels: A Project was set on Foot to bring in the Chevalier, in diametrical Opposition to the Act of Settlement in the former and that present Reign. Upon the Change of the Ministry, the *Jacobite* Party began every where to rear their Head, and conceive the greatest Hopes. The Duke of *Hamilton*, who was chagrined at his Patent's being rejected in the House of Lords for being a *British* Peer, was appointed Ambassador to the Court of *France*; and, from his frequent Meeting and Consultation with the disaffected to the *Hanoverian* Succession, it was believed, by all unprejudiced Persons, that the Design of his Embassy was to bring in that *French* unfortunate Tool: But, as some wise Men saw through his destructive

structive Scheme, they had recourse to the Expedient of stopping his Journey, and baffling the Hopes of his Party: They stirred up a Quarrel betwixt Lord *Mobun*, who was married to the Dutcheß of *Hamilton's* Sister, and his Grace, about some Effects which were controverted between them. The former Lord was reputed as fine a Swordsman as perhaps was in the Isle of *Great Britain*, and the latter was a Hero, breathing the Spirit of the ancient *Douglasses*, who never feared the Face of Men. The Meeting of these two Lords was like that of Hemp and a burning Candle: They fought behind *St James's* Park; and, after closing upon one another, his Grace, at the second push, run him thorough; and, as he was drawing the Sword out of his Body, the Lord *Mobun's* Sword run into his.

But this was not the only Check that was given to the Views of the Pretender; for one of the Privy-Confessors suggested to the Court of *Hanover*, the intended Scheme of the *British* Ministry: Upon which, the wise King *George* wrote to Queen *Anne*, informing her, of his being apprised of all her Actions, and what was fomenting at her Court; and, in the mean time, the Thing taking Air, the Favourers of the old Ministry set themselves, more than ever, to carry their Elections, which, from the Year 1710, till the Year 1714, had still been carried against

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them : But; at that Time, the violent Measures of the Party, in pulling down the Dissenting Meeting Houses in *England*, and the Countenance given by the Earl of *Mar* to the Nonjurant Meeting Houses in *Scotland*, which he then frequented, instead of those of the established Church ; blew up that Spirit of Liberty, in both Nations, which had long been shocked with the Ashes of Policy that had been thrown upon it by those who sat at the Helm of Affairs.

And indeed the two principal Men at Court began to see how well affected the Body of the Nation was to the Protestant Succession ; for supporting of which, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was informed of all that passed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, after a three Years voluntary Exile, set out for his native Country, in order to put himself at the Head of the well affected, in case of an Insurrection in favours of the Pretender, upon the Decease of the Queen, who was then in a valetudinary State. Such Precautions were no less needful than salutary ; for the Suspension of Arms (which King *George I.* so properly called the fatal Cessation) agreed on with *France*, exclusive of the Allies, wore a gloomy Aspect, as did the separation of the *English* Troops from the Confederates, which occasioned the irreparable Loss at *Denain* ; the shameful abandoning the brave *Catalonians*, the clandestine Measures of the Court ;

Court ; and the strenuous preaching of the Clergy against the War, brought on such Treaties with the Court of *France*, as to force, in a Manner, the Allies to accept the Terms of the grand Monarch, and forgoe the whole Advantages they had gained by an expensive, tedious, bloody and successful War. It was for these Reasons, that his Grace held himself in Readiness, for the three last Months of the Queen's Life, to embark for *England* whenever he heard it was dispaired of : And now a fair Opportunity presented itself of bringing Matters to the most happy Conclusion ; for the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord Treasurer, and Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Secretary, differed among themselves, and were each courting the Interest of his Grace ; which, if once obtained, there remained no doubt which should have the Ascendant in the House of Peers, and even in the Nation in general, whose Darling and Ornament he was.

These two great Ministers, now at Variance among themselves, endeavoured the Removal of each other ; and, as Lord *Bolingbroke's* Party prevailed, the Lord Treasurer was deprived of his Staff. Some high Words passed between the degraded Favourite and Lady *Masham*, in Presence of the Queen, who was so struck, that she began to suspect how much she had been deluded by her Confidants : A Council was summoned

thereupon, and the Consultations lasting till two in the Morning of the 27th *July*, occasioned so violent an Emotion in her Majesty's Spirits, that her Indisposition was increased; and, upon the 29th, both she and the Physicians were sensible, that her Dissolution was approaching. As the Council continued to sit, the Dukes of *Argyle* and *Somerset*, having Advice of the Queen's desperate Condition, without staying for being summoned, hastily repaired to *Kingsington*, where the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Shrewsbury*, and *Ormond*, the three Secretaries of State, were assembled in a Committee, which received them with thankful Acknowledgements for their coming at so critical a Juncture. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* was proposed for Lord Treasurer; and afterward the Choice was approved of by the dying Queen, who gave him the Staff, with this express Command: *To use it for the Good of the People*. About three in the Afternoon, she relapsed from her Interval of Ease into an apoplectick Fit; so that her Life being despair'd of, Provision was made for the Security of *London* and *Westminster*, of the Sea-ports and of *Scotland*, (whether Major-General *Whetam* was sent) *Ireland*, and an Embargo was laid on all Shipping. About ten next Morning, after a lethargick Dozing, which had continued all Night, she grew quite uneasy, and 'twas expected every Moment she would expire; between

Between twelve and one she gave some Signs of Life ; but this was only a Blaze before the Fire was extinguished : For, about six in the Evening of the 1st of *August*, she ended her Days, in the fiftieth Year of her Life, and thirteenth of her Reign ; admired by all who knew her many amiable Virtues, and her Heart which was *entirely English*. She was certainly as illustrious a Queen as ever swayed the *British* Sceptre ; and, in her Time, did the *British* Armies gain the most unparallelled Victories by Land, while her Fleets rode triumphant upon the Main. She is indeed blamed by some, as giving into the Project of setting up the Pretender ; nor is it mine to refute or confirm the Assertion. One Thing is certain, that she was a zealous Protestant, and had been a long Time under the Direction of the best of Husbands, who was no Friend to the Cause of the Chevalier ; and that she abhorred her Step-mother, the *Italian* Queen, who is said to have used her and the Princess of *Orange* in a very insulting and barbarous Manner : So that, unless the Pretender, in his Declaration 1715, (which possibly was framed by the Enemies of her Fame) had called her, “ Our dear “ Sister Queen *Anne* of glorious Memory.” I should be apt to think, that she would have been as far against his succeeding to the Crown, as her Uncle King *Charles* would have been against his barbarous Brother, the

Popish Tyrant, could he have lifted up his Eyes and observed the Fate of his first born Son, his darling and beloved *Monmouth*.

Scarce is the Queen dead, when the Herald at Arms, and a Troop of the Life-guards, who were ready, by Orders of the Council, proclaimed the Elector of *Hanover* King of *Great Britain*, amidst the loudest Acclamations; and the Regency, who had been appointed by three Instruments under the Hand and Seal of his Majesty, instantly took upon themselves the Management of publick Affairs, and dispatched an Express to *Herenhausen* with the News of what happened. Both Houses of Parliament sent Addresses to the King, expressing an earnest Desire for his Presence among them. He set out with his present Majesty upon the 5th *September*, and, on the 10th, arrived at the *Hague*; where he was complimented by the Deputies of the States, by the Ambassadors of *France*, of *Spain* and of *Portugal*: After which, they embarked for *England*, with a fair Wind, and, after two Days, landed at *Greenwich*; where he was received by a vast and splendid Appearance of Nobility and Gentry. Next Day he made his publick Entry through the City of *London* to his Palace at *St. James's*, amidst the repeated Huzzas of those who lined the Streets, filled the Balconies and Windows, and covered the very Tops of the Houses.

On the 20th *October* he was crowned, with
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all possible Magnificence and Splendor, surrounded by his particular Favourites, whose Disgraces formerly now made them appear with a brighter Lustre. Among the Number of those received into his Favour was the deceas'd Lord, who, upon the 28th *October*, was appointed one of the Lords of his Bed-chamber; next Day was sworn one of his Privy-Council, and, in *November*, was made Commander in Chief of all his Forces in *Scotland*: And indeed he added an additional Lustre to these Places (great as they were) which he filled.

The Nation, in general, were well pleased with the Arrival of King *George*; and generally the Favourites of the Duke of *Marlborough* were chosen to represent the Counties and Boroughs in the Parliament that was summoned to meet on the 17th *March* 1715; and, in *Scotland*, the Opposers of the former Ministry prevailed; and the Earl of *Stair*, tho' absent, was, upon the 3d *March* 1715, unanimously chosen as a Representative in the first septennial Parliament.

Upon the King's Accession to the Throne, Ambassadors were sent to several Powers of *Europe*; and, as the *French* Court was both the most splendid, and her Intrigues the most dangerous, a Person of Spirit, of a sound Mind in a sound Body; one of an enterprising Genius, of a polite Taste and deep Penetration,

netration, was to be dispatched to her. The Person thought of by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and by the King himself, was the deceas'd Lord ; who, on his being introduced to his Royal Master, was complimented on his prudent Management in *Poland*, and desired to behave as he should see Occasion. He set out for *Paris* in *January 1715*, and, in a few Days after, entered that Capital, in so splendid a Manner, that the other Ambassadors admired him, while old *Lewis* himself looked upon it as a Banter upon him in his Capital ; and, to speak conscientiously, (as every Historian ought to do, according to his Light) how could he judge otherwise ? For, lo ! an Ambassador from a Prince, whom, some few Months ago, he had actually desired should be degraded from the Honour of an Elector in the Empire, raised to a Throne, little inferior at any Time, but now much more splendid than his own, lo ! this Ambassador making a more brilliant Appearance than any of the same Station ever did before ; and yet nothing when compared to his publick Entry, *anno 1719*, when he complimented the present King on his mounting the Throne, the Manner of which we shall afterwards set down.

He was not many Days here till an Opportunity offered of distinguishing his rare Abilities, of confirming his Master in the good Opinion formed of him, and increasing the

the Fears of the *French* King, who had heard of his Character, and was even chagrined at his Conduct for the short Time he had resided at his Court.

By the 9th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was expressly stipulated, " That the Harbour of *Dunkirk* should be filled up; that the Dykes, which form the Canal and Moles, should be destroyed : " There was indeed a pretended Execution of this Article, but nothing like fulfilling of the Treaty, as easily occurred to any Person that viewed it ; yea, further than this, the grand Monarch had ordered a Haven and Canal to be made at *Mardyke*, which were much more capacious than those of *Dunkirk* itself. Mr. *Prior*, the former Ambassador, had complained of it, upon the 12th of *October*, before, and insisted, that the Treaty should be fulfilled ; an Answer, full of the most evasive Arguments, was drawn up : But the same was far from being satisfactory ; and, as the Matter still continued open, his Excellency, the Earl of *Stair*, on the 5th *February*, laid a clear Representation of the Matter before the *French* Ministry ; in which he demonstrated, that the Works, according to the Treaty, ought to be destroyed with Mens Hands, and not left to the Wastings of Time, or Encroachments of the Sea, which every Thing was subject to. He set forth, that it was inconsistent, in the Nature of Things,

Things, to think, that the Haven was demolished, while another was built in its Neighbourhood, which might prove more detrimental to the Commerce of the *British* Subjects than *Dunkirk* itself: He pointed out a Way how the Water might be drained, without overflowing the Country, as they pretended, and that with little Trouble or Expence; and then demanded such an Answer as might be satisfactory to his Master and his Subjects, and prevent the bad Effects which might be the Result of a contrary Conduct. To this it was answered, That all imaginable Forwardness had been shewn, on the Part of the Most Christian King, exactly to fulfil the 9th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, till hindered by the *English* Commissaries themselves; that the Canal which he was obliged to open, for preventing the Submersion of a vast Extent of Country, and saving the Lives of its Inhabitants, ought to give no Umbrage to *Great Britain*, since his Inclination was not to keep Fleets there for disturbing the Navigation and Commerce of his Neighbours: That he desired nothing more than that *France* and *Great Britain* should unite in the strictest Bands of Correspondence and Friendship. Thus did the *French* answer the plainest Reasoning, and elude the Force of the most notorious Facts; and even gave out, that they intended to live in Harmony with the King of *Great Britain*, while, in the mean time,

time, they were meditating an Invasion in favours of the Pretender to his Crown.

The old *French* King easily foresaw, how much the System of Affairs in *England* would be altered by the Removal of a sweet tempered Princess, who was ready, by delusive Arguments, to give into the most destructive Schemes; with real Grief did he at the same time observe, that the Prince upon Earth, whom he feared most, had mounted the Throne of that Kingdom, which he ever inclined to have dependent upon as his own; and, to create him as much Trouble as possible, did he encourage the old Chevalier, who published a Declaration, superscribed, *James R.* dated *August 29th 1714*, in *French, Latin and English*, setting out his Claim to the Crown of these Realms. The Paper was handed about, and, on the 13th *November*, some of them being sent to the Dukes of *Argyle* and *Marlborough*, who delivered them to the King; a Proclamation was emitted, for suppressing Tumults and Insurrections, and for preventing Conspiracies, which, at that Time, began to be feared; and a Premium of 100,000 *l.* was set upon the Head of the Pretender, if he should land, or attempt to land, in any of the King's Dominions.

This was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, till the Meeting of the Parliament, *March 17th 1714-5*; when his Majesty, being seated

ed on his Throne, caused the Lord Chancellor to read his first Speech, in which, after thanking them for their Zeal in Defence of the Protestant Succession, he observes, That the unparalleled Success of the late War had not been attended with a suitable Conclusion; that the Pretender was still in *Lorrain*, and boasted of Assistance to repair his former Disappointments: He told them, That a great Part of their Trade was impracticable, and their publick Debts, which were great, had surprisngly increased, even since the fatal Cessation of Arms; and that he had paid off a great Number of Ships for the Ease of his People. He concludes with recommending Harmony among themselves; and declares, That he should judge those his best Friends, who should assist him in promoting the Happiness, Ease and Prosperity of his People.

Both Houses of Parliament made suitable Returns of Gratitude to this most excellent Speech of their new King; complied with all his Desires, gave him the strongest Assurances of their Loyalty, and expressed their Amazement, that the Pretender to his Crown should be permitted to reside so near his Dominions.

This Intelligence about the Designs of the Pretender was owing to the Earl of *Stair*, who spared no Pains, or Cost, to find out his Plots and Contrivances. He kept the
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most splendid House in *Paris* next to that of the King ; and, having with him his Countess and her Daughter, both Ladies of the greatest Honour and Politeness, he was visited by the principal Lords and Ladies : He would entertain them with all possible Elegance ; and, after keeping them, perhaps till ten o' Clock at Night, he would pretend Business, and leave the Company to the Care of his Lady, withdraw to his Room, undress, himself, and repair to the Coffee-houses *incognito* ; and, by a dextrous Method of Conversation, found out the Secrets of the Day. It was in one of these Excursions that he was informed of the Pretender's being at Court : For one Mr. *Mackdonald*, of *Clanranald's* Family, who knew very well the Design, judging, that the Gentleman with whom he conversed, *viz.* the deceas'd Lord, was as great a *Jacobite* as himself, declared the whole that he knew of the Matter ; and, at the same time, informed him of the Dress which he wore, and the Time he generally appeared. Next Day the Earl went to the Palace, and saw the Chevalier, in the same Dress that *Mackdonald* had described him. He forthwith went to pay a Visit to the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ambassador, and conversed pretty seriously with him ; but that Nobleman was either unacquainted with his Design, or else, from a political Turn, he spoke so ambiguously, that nothing could be learned from him.

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him. After this, he went to pay a Visit to the Lady of the Duke *de Villars*, hoping, by her Means, to get Information of him: He was received by that Noblewoman entirely *ala Mode de Paris*; and, being invited to take a Hand at Backgammond with her and some other Ladies, he, designedly, allowed them to gain, by which Means their Spirits became highly elevated, and they talked with but little Reserve: The Subject of the Conversation then turned upon the Inquiry into the Conduct of the late *British* Ministry*; and, at last, they talked of the old Chevalier. The Dutcheß of *Villars* had but a mean Opinion of him, and spoke of him rather in a geering Manner, than as one who sympathized with his Case; and at last said, That she believed, ere long, another Trial would be made in favours of the poor Fugitive. This was but the Beginning of that admirable Policy which afterwards he discovered, for the Support of his King and Preservation of his Country. By his charming Address, and manly Behaviour, he procured the Esteem of the Court: All who saw him loved him, tho' no Way concerned in him; the whole Nobles admired him without Envy, and

* Lord *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ormond* and Earl of *Stafford*, who were impeached for High Treason; and were said, by Sir *Robert Walpole* and General *Stanbope*, to be a *frenchified* Ministry, whose villany they wanted Words to express.

and his Enemies dreaded him without hatred of his Person. * He became acquainted with the whole Members of the Ministry ; by whom he was regalled for the Brightness of his Genius, his Majestick Mein, his lovely and amiable Countenance, and, what was more than all, for his instructive Discourses, and his surprising Judgment, when talking of the Art of War. He was too quick sighted not to observe a general Devastation in *France*, where Famine, Hunger and Discontent were to be read in the Faces of the Populace : For, when the *Persian* Ambassador made his publick Entrance, the old Monarch received him in the most brilliant Manner ; but, as an ingenious Author of the *French* Nation expresses it, “ The Subjects put on Mourning for the splendid Appearance of their King.”

But, not only did the deceas'd Lord observe the miserable State of the Body of the Nation, but also of their great Men, whom he frequently invited to his House, and seldom, or never, did he dismiss them without some Present or other. He complimented several of them with a Set of fine Horses, of the *Galloway* Brood * ; presented the Princes of the Blood, and the great Men of

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* These Horses are of the *Hungarian* and *Spanish* Brood, generally about fourteen Hands high, dapple Gray in the Colour, very handsome and durable, very industrious, and abundantly fly.

the Court, with two of these at a Time, and would merrily say, "That he thought
" no Man should pretend, in a foreign Coun-
" try, to make Presents of any thing, but
" what was the Product of his own." By
this dextrous Management, he got Notice
of all the Intrigues at Court ; and scarce was
there any Thing, relating to *Britain*, trans-
acted in the Cabinet of *Versailles*, but it was
known at the Court of *Britain* as soon as a
Courier could arrive with the News.

And tho', by this Means, he had the
most perfect Intelligence, yet he did not
think the Matter entirely safe, till he had one
of the Lords of the Council in his actual pay.
The Method he took with him was this : He
agreed with him for a Sum, which was to be
augmented in Proportion to the Importance
of the Intelligence which he gave ; and, at
the same time, it was settled, that every
Night a Packet, with a certain Seal, should
be sent to his House, or to the Coffee-house,
which he appointed. The Scheme took ex-
tremely well ; for, as his Lordship paid in
the most liberal Manner, not one Thing that
happened in the Cabinet, but was drawn
forth and presented before him. All the
Plans for bringing in the Chevalier were de-
vulged from time to time ; and trusty Mes-
sengers, among whom the late brave Colo-
nel *Gardner*, were dispatched with them : So
that the *French King* was astonished to hear,
that

that King *George*, on the 20th *July*, had informed his Parliament, that a Design was carrying on, to invade his Dominions in favour of the Pretender to his Crown. He was at a Loss how to behave; but, being informed of the many Expresses dispatched by the *Earl of Stair*, he sent for him, and told him, pretty roundly, that he was well assured of frequent Dispatches he sent to his Court; and, at the same time, disguised the Matter so far, as to say, “ This can be from
 “ no other Motive, but to apprise your
 “ King of my bad State of Health, which
 “ is far from being what you may apprehend; for, if you come to my Palace To-morrow, you shall see me eat a Fowl as heartily as ever I did in my Lifetime.”

Next Day his Lordship came to Court, and saw the old King, for the last Time at Dinner, that ever he publickly appeared: The sickly Monarch was very languid, and bore in his Visage the evident Marks of an approaching Diffolution; and, for some Time, seemed to disgust the nicest Dainties, till, casting his Eyes upon the *Earl of Stair*, who, to use the Words of the eminent Doctor *Dodderidge*, “ Was very disagreeable to that crafty
 “ and tyrannical Prince, he affected to appear in a much better State of Health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had
 “ been awakened from some deep *Rivere*,
 “ he immediately put himself up into an
 “ erect

“ erect Posture, called up a laboured Viva-
 “ city into his Countenance, and eat much
 “ more heartily than was by any means
 “ adviseable; repeating it two or three times
 “ to a Nobleman, (I think the Duke of
 “ *Bourbon*) then in waiting, *Metbinks I eat*
 “ *very well for a Man that is to die so soon:*
 “ But this Inroad upon that Regularity of
 “ Living, which he had for some time ob-
 “ served, agreed so ill with him, that he
 “ never recovered this Meal, but died in less
 “ than a Fortnight,” *September 1st 1715,*
 leaving an Advice to his Great-Grandson,
 which, to have followed, would have proved
 his own Happiness, as well as that of the
 Nations arround him, not to imitate him in
 three Things, *viz.* “ The Passion he had en-
 “ tertained, for the Enlargement and agran-
 “ dizing of his Dominions; in his Attach-
 “ ment to Pleasure, and in excessive and
 “ unuseful Expences, to the Desolation of
 “ his Subjects:” And, with these or such like
 Expressions did he close a Life that had been
 spent in the Pursuits of Luxury, Ambition,
 and of Triumph.

The Death of old *Lewis*, whom the *French*
 Historians compare to *Augustus Cæsar*, and
 are at a Loss what Elogiums to give him,
 would have dashed the Pretender’s Scheme in
 Pieces *, if the same had not been cherished

at

* Some even think, that the *French King* did not
 much

at home : For, as an Inquiry was carrying on against the Former Ministry, upon whom Treasons and Misdemeanours were charged, their Friends thought proper to divert the Trial, by carving out Work from another Quarter. Among those who sided with the late Ministry was *John Earl of Mar*, a Nobleman bred up in all the Principles of the Revolution, to which he firmly adhered, except in the Instance of Excursion I am soon to relate. He was Secretary of State at the Time of the Union, was one of the Commissioners for concluding of it, and had continued in Parliament, as a Representative, till this very Time ; yea, so strenuously did he promote, and afterward support it, that, when speaking of any Thing which he insisted could not be altered, his usual Phrase was, " You may as well dissolve the Union." This Man was, however, very cunning and politick ; and, so much did he delight in acting the Part of a Statesman, that his Itch after this had the Preference to all his Desires. He had been very intimate with the Earl of *Oxford*, who was then in Prison, and was supposed to have been privy to all his Secrets, which, if once found out, must prove fatal to himself ; to liberate his Friend from his Captivity, did he think of raising a Rebellion. *Oxford*, who was very well attached to the

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much regard him ; for, at that Time, he was bent on restoring the King of *Sweden's* Affairs.

Hanoverian Succession, (as indeed was the Earl of *Mar*, who was much disgusted for his Disappointment at the Election of the *Scottish* Representatives in Parliament, in *March* before) liberally furnished him with Money (according to my Information, 24,000 l.) for stirring up the Confusion. These two great Politicians easily foresaw, that the Thing would not do; all they wanted by it was, to obtain their own Safety, to screen themselves from a parliamentary Inquiry, and, by suppressing the Infurrection, to secure the Constitution the more. Two Years after *Oxford* was arraigned before his Peers; but they and the Commons differing about the Method of Procedure, he was dismissed from their Bar.

The Earl of *Mar* was at no Loss to find out Engines, whom he could very easily move by the Springs of his political Views; and, lest he should be suspected, because, in this, he was acting contrary to all his former Principles, nay, and to his solemn Protestations of Loyalty to King *George*; he brought over some young unexperienced Noblemen, such as the Earls *Marishal* *, *Strathmore*, the Marquis of *Tullibardin* and *Huntly*; and, meeting them privately at *Braemar*, he talked of the Scheme, and, by his Insinuations, soon made an Impression upon

* It was with Difficulty he could persuade him, because his Ancestor, at the Reformation, left his Curse upon his Posterity, if ever they favoured a Popish Cause.

upon their Minds, which were ready to receive the first that was offered.

Having got these Noblemen to keep him in Countenance, he was assured of being joined by a considerable Army, and that was, by the *M^cDonalds of Slate, of Clanranald, Glengary, Keppoch and Glenco*, by the *Camerons*, the *M^cLeans*, *M^cGrigors*, *M^cKinnons*, *M^cPherfons*, *M^cIntoshes*, and others, too tedious here to mention ; and, tho' he looked with as much Disdain upon these tumultuary People, who have proved Rebels to most of the *Scots Kings*, as any Man in *Britain*, yet he made use of them to answer his own, and the Designs of his Patron. These People, who have little more to do with the *British* Constitution than so many *Muscovites* or *Tartars*, immediately arose, to dethrone a King whom they had addressed but some few Months before, with the most solemn Protestations of Loyalty, and had assured of their Attachment to his Interest ; and, gathering Strength as they advanced, there was soon mustered up an Army of 10,000 Men, *Scots* and *English* included, to favour the Cause of the Chevalier ; whose Standard was set up, *September 6th*, at *Braemar*, his Declarations emitted, and he, in the mean time, proclaimed. The News of this Insurrection was most surprising at Court : But, as a Man does not upon seeing an House on Fire, set himself to inquire into the Cause of the Flame, but rather to

ex-

extinguish it ; so the Government immediately dispatched the Duke of *Argyle* *, then Lieutenant-General of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, to suppress the Rebellion. He quickly recruited the Regiments which had been diminished by the King for the Ease of his People, and had got together an Army of 3350 regular Forces, besides the *Glasgow*, and other Militia, by the 13th *November*, when he attacked the Rebels, on *Sheriffmuir*, to prevent their crossing the *Forth*. The *Higblanders* came, with their usual Fury, upon the left Wing, which, not being well formed, and the Horses being young, fell a capering upon the first Fire, turned and trode down their own Foot, who fled off in the greatest Confusion, and were pursued, with a terrible Slaughter, even to *Dumblain* : But, while this is a doing upon the Left, the Right of the King's Troops broke the Left of the Enemy, who hurried along with them upwards of 6000, and pursued them to the Water of *Allan*, making a dreadful Havock, as they several Times endeavoured to rally and return again to the Charge. The Scene here

* This Nobleman was almost adored by his own Clan ; but the neighbouring Clans, whose Lands he and his Family possess, can no more be brought to love the *Campbells*, than a Leopard could be made to change his Spots : So that, tho' his Grace behaved extreamly well in this Affair, yet the *Western Macs* were enraged the more, that he commanded against them.

here was very confused ; for, while some were striving to form, others betook themselves to Inclosures, and cried out, they were forced ; which his Grace hearing, he commanded *Evans's* Dragoons to stop, just when they had surrounded them, and were ready to cut them in Pieces, ordering a Trumpet to sound, informing them, that they were allowed to return home, on Condition they should lay down their Arms, which was immediately complied with. On his Grace's Return, he was astonished to see a Number of *Highlanders* drawn up, upon a rising Ground, betwixt him and *Dumblain* ; nor indeed were the others less astonished to see the Royalists return from the Chace : Both held a Council of War, where the Question was, Attack the Enemy, or not ? The Duke of *Argyle* was for the former ; but Sir *Robert Hay* told him, that his Soldiers and Horses were fatigued, that his Ammunition was spent ; whereas the Rebels were recruited with the Arms of the Wing that had been broke : That the Business of the Royalists was, to get betwixt them and *Stirling*, that Key into the West and the North. This salutary Advice being approven, the Duke directed his March, with his Victorious Troops, below the Field of Battle while the Enemy were Spectators of it. Here was in them the most unaccountable Infatuation, or else the Earl of *Mar* acted the most political Part.

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The Clans, in general, with the Earl *Mar-
shal's* Horse, and several of the boldest of
the left Wing that had been broke, declared
such Eagerness to attack, that scarcely Au-
thority itself could restrain them ; for they
were fired with Revenge, as *Clanranald*,
whom they admired, with the Earl of *Strath-
more*, was lying dead before them. *Glengary*
said to *Mar*, By G—d you never will have
such an Opportunity of them again : To
which his Lordship answered, “ You are
“ mistaken ; consider, that Night is coming
“ on, the Flower of the King's Troops are
“ only here, and I do not chuse, too much,
“ to expose them.” By these soothing Ex-
pressions they were hindered from entering
upon another Action, in which I am far from
determining who should be Conqueror. At
Night, they marched back to their Camp,
and, next Day, the Royalists appeared on
the Field of Battle ready to engage ; but the
Clans, now disheartened, had not Stomach
to advance toward them. Such was the
Action at *Sberriffmuir*, in which the Roy-
alists lost above 500 Men, among whom the
brave Earl of *Forfar*, whom the Rebels ta-
king for the Duke of *Argyle*, hashed almost
to Pieces. The Rebels lost full as many, and
the Remainder were quite disheartened at
their Disappointment.

Among the Regiments, who distinguished
themselves in the Cause of their Country,

was

was that of the Earl of *Stair* *; for, at the Head of that Corps, animated by the Spirit of their Colonel, and *Evans's* Dragoons, did his Grace first break through the Left of the Rebel Army, and snatched out of their Hands an Advantage, which, for some time, they judged themselves possessed of. From this Time there was no further Motion, till *Candlemass*, that his Grace set out for *Perth*, to beat up the Quarters of the Pretender; who had landed at *Peterhead*, on the 25th *December*, with the Marquis of *Tinmouth* and a few Officers: He, with the Remainder of his shattered Troops that appeared for him, fled before the King's Forces, leaving his Men at *Montrose*, without any Ceremony, embarked in a small Sloop for *France*, where he safely arrived. Nor went his Affairs in *England* better than in *Scotland*; for the Noblemen of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, who were joined by Brigadier *M^cIntosh*, and the Earls of *Carnwath*, *Wintoun* and *Nithisdale*, were all made Prisoners upon the very Day of the Action at *Dumblain*, upon none other Terms, but that they should not be cut in Pieces till the King's Pleasure was known.

Thus have I given an Account of this Rebellion, with as much Brevity as I can;
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* A Regiment of Dragoons, of which he was made Colonel in *March* before, in his Absence; because his Royal Master foresaw, that his Salary could not defray his Expences.

and, if its Rise be attributed to any other Cause than that which I have assigned, 'tis hoped the Reader will, in Charity, believe, that I only have wrote what appeared to me most rational; and, if any other shall find out the Spring, and prove, that it proceeded from another Fountain, I shall be so far from taking it amiss, that I shall be among the first to countenance his Performance.

The Regiment of the Earl of *Stair* was not more active in the Field of *Dumblain*, for breaking the Rebel Battalions, than his Lordship was in *France*, for defeating any Attempts that might be made to assist them; and the distinct Accounts, which are contained in the following Memorials will easily convince any Person, both of his Lordship's Af-
fidity and Zeal for the Interest of his Country, and of his using the Methods I formerly described for procuring Intelligence.

Lord Stair's Memorial to the Regent.

THE underwritten Earl of *Stair*, Minister of the King of *Great Britain* to his Most Christian Majesty, finds himself obliged to represent to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, That, notwithstanding his Royal Highness has frequently assured the said Earl, that he would faithfully and punctually observe the Articles of Peace made between *Great Britain* and *France*

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at the Treaty of *Utrecht*; that he would not permit either Arms, Ammunition, Officers or Soldiers to be transported out of *France* for the Service of the Pretender: And altho', in Conformity to these Intentions, his Royal Highness has even sent express Orders to all the Ports and Havens of the Kingdom, it is certain nevertheless, that the several Particulars before enumerated, are every Day transported from the Harbours of *France*, without the least Obstruction whatsoever from those who command in the said Ports on the Part of his most Christian Majesty.

The late Duke of *Ormond*, and the Pretender, have been frequently aboard certain Vessels at *St. Malo*, which were known to be loaded with Arms and Ammunition for the Pretender's Service; and this with so little Reserve or Circumspection, that they were publicly attended and followed by a Troop of *Nugent's* Horse, commanded by their proper Officers, all mounted in their Regimental Clothes and Accoutrements, and this without the least Check from his Most Christian Majesty's Officers commanding at *St. Malo*.

The Pretender, not thinking it proper to venture himself to Sea at this Juncture, took the Road towards *Normandy*, in order to embark at *Dunkirk*; and the late Duke of *Ormond* in the same Manner, declining to land in *England*, came back to *Morlaix*.

When the Pretender was gone to *Scotland*, attended by the above-mentioned Troopers of *Nugent's* Regiment, his Royal Highness was pleased to promise the underwritten Minister, that he would treat them as Deserters if ever they returned to *France*; and the *Mareschal d'Uxelles* at the same time assured the said Earl, that he would hang them all without Distinction.

These Soldiers are now returned, and have joined their Regiment. Monsieur *Besach* and his Company remain to this very Hour at *Morlaix*, as also the Arms and Ammunition that he had with him for his intended Expedition, which being removed out of one Ship into another, in the Harbour of *Morlaix*, the commanding Officer there, was so far from confiscating the said Arms and Ammunition, that he even refused to search the Vessel, tho' he was desired so to do by Captain *Campbell* Commander of an *English* Ship, which yet remains in that Port.

Within five Weeks past, several Vessels have sailed from *Dieppe* and *Havre de Grace*, with Arms and Ammunition, Officers and Money, for the Pretender's Service, all which are actually arrived in *Scotland*; and to be more particular, there sailed a Vessel from *Havre de Grace* on the 17th of this Month in the Face of an Officer belonging to the King of *Great Britain*, who having represented to the Marquis of *Rouvray*, that there

lay

lay at that Time, both in *Havre de Grace* and at *Harfleur*, at least twenty Officers ready to follow the Pretender into *Scotland* on board the said Vessel, and begged him to prevent their embarking; the Marquis replied, that what he said might be very true, but that he could not hinder their going on Board, having no Orders from Court for that Purpose,

The said Earl of *Stair*, has also frequently represented, both to his Royal Highness the Regent, and the Mareschal d' *Huxelles*, that several Generals, Colonels, and other Officers, then actually engaged in the Service of *France*, were determined to go and join the Rebels in *Scotland*. The said Earl went so far as even to give the Mareschal d' *Huxelles* a List of the said Generals and other Officers, who, agreeable to the said Earl's Representation, are now actually at *Boulogne*, *Calais*, *Dunkirk*, and other Places in that Neighbourhood, ready to transport themselves with the first Opportunity into *Scotland*, from whence they have been hitherto detained by nothing but the excessive Cold of the Season and contrary Winds; the commanding Officers in the said Places openly avowing, that they have received no Orders to prevent their Embarkation.

The Earl of *Stair* finds it his Duty to represent these Facts to the Duke Regent, to the End that his Royal Highness may

himself determine whether his Orders have been executed with Punctuality, and whether it can be thought in *Great Britain*, that the Treaty of *Utrecht* has been faithfully complied with on the Part of *France*.

The aforesaid Earl of *Stair* finds himself obliged to acquaint his Royal Highness, that the late Duke of *Ormond*, and several others, who have conspired equally against their King and Country, did within a few Days begin their Journey towards *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*, and that they have got together upon the Coast of *Gascony* a considerable Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and Ships, with which the Court of *St. Germans* boasts its Intention to make a Descent in *Ireland*, which, as the same Court flatters itself, will be supported not only with the Money, but even with the very Troops of *France*.

The Earl of *Stair*, who has always laboured, with the utmost Zeal, to establish a good and perfect Friendship between the King his Master, and his Royal Highness the Duke Regent, cannot help being very much concerned to find himself reduced to make Remonstrances upon Points of so ticklish a Nature, ^{as} capable of destroying the Harmony that at present subsists between the two Nations, and of producing such Discontents as may be attended with the most grievous Consequences, if not immediately prevented by necessary Orders.

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It was not possible to elude the Force of this Representation, and accordingly his Royal Highness saw, that, to remove all Suspicions, and preserve the Friendship of *Great Britain*, he must be obliged to speak plain; agreeable to which, his Answer was, "That he would forbid the Exportation of any Arms or Ammunition out of the Kingdom; and that he would send such Orders to all the Ports of *France* as his *Britannick*.Majesty desired, together with Instructions for the Captains of such Vessels as were bound for any Part of *Scotland*."

Another Memorial by Lord Stair to the Regent.

THE Earl of *Stair*, Minister of the King of *Great Britain* to his Most Christian Majesty, has received express Orders from the King his Master, to acquaint his Royal Highness the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, with the Flight of the Pretender, and the Dispersion of the Rebels in *Scotland*. His Majesty is persuaded this News will be very acceptable to the Duke Regent, as well on account of the Proximity of their Blood, as in regard to the strict Friendship which his Majesty has so carefully cultivated with his Royal Highness.

The Treaty of *Utrecht* is so recent, that the King was persuaded his Royal Highness would have taken the Necessary Measures to have

have prevented the Pretender's setting his Foot in *France*; but, since the said Pretender has found Means to return thither, his Majesty assures himself, that so soon as his Royal Highness shall be made acquainted with it, he will take the necessary Measures to oblige him to quit the Kingdom.

The King of *Great Britain* commands the Earl of *Stair* to insist, in the strongest Manner, with his Royal Highness, that those Persons who stand condemned by the Laws of *England*, and are declared Rebels and Traitors to their King and Country, may not be permitted to remain in *France*; and that the chief Authors and Abettors of the late Rebellion may be immediately obliged to leave the Kingdom; and that his Royal Highness will declare his Resolution, not to permit the said Rebels ever to return into *France*; or that other Persons who may hereafter be condemned and declared Rebels, shall at any time be received, or find Protection in that Kingdom.

His Royal Highness is too reasonable and too wise not to see the Justice and Propriety of this Demand. *Great Britain* can never repose herself in safety and Peace, whilst she sees those Persons received and entertained in her Neighbourhood, who have endeavoured with open Force, to bring on the Ruin and total Subversion of their Country. Nor can *France* be perfectly assured, that she shall not
once

once again see herself exposed to bear all the blame and Resentment due to Undertakings of, so mischievous a Nature.

The King and People of *Great Britain* think themselves secure on the Side of *France*, by Virtue of the solemn Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which the Pretender is excluded from the Dominions of his most Christian Majesty, and by which *France* stands obliged to give him no Assistance, either in Ships, Arms or Ammunition ; in Money, Soldiers or Officers ; no, nor even in Council or Advice, either directly or indirectly. Yet the above-mentioned Rebels arrive ; they ask Refuge and Protection in *France* ; and are no sooner there, than, by the commodiousness of their Situation, and Conveniency of the Post, they plot and contrive the blackest and most detestable Treason against their Country, which depending on the Faith of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was unarmed and defenceless. In Defiance of this Treaty, they find Means to bring the Pretender into *France*, and by their Intrigues they furnish him with Ships, Arms and Ammunition, Officers, Soldiers and Money, with which Assistance the Pretender has actually invaded *Great Britain*, and brought infinite Damages to the Nation.

His Royal Highness may imagine, that *Great Britain* could not long endure the uneasiness that must be derived from the Neighbourhood of those Rebels, ready to bring
Fire

Fire and Sword into the Heart of the Kingdom, and to renew all the Horrors that accompany Rebellion. In this Situation *Great Britain* would find herself obliged to be perpetually upon her Guard, and would be subjected to continual Disturbances and Apprehensions: A Condition more vexatious than even open War, to a Nation equally anxious for the Preservation of its Laws and Liberties, as desirous to live in Peace with its Neighbours.

His Royal Highness may learn, from the unanimous Address of both Houses of Parliament to the King, what Sense the Nation entertains of this uncertain and violent Situation. The King has the Happiness of his Subjects too much at Heart, not to enter warmly both into their Opinions and Interest; and he flatters himself, that, upon this Occasion, his Royal Highness will not refuse him the just Proof he has desired of his Friendship, and of his Disposition to entertain a good Understanding between the two Nations.

For the same Reasons, the King of *Great Britain* hopes his Royal Highness the Regent, will concur with his Majesty to solicit the Duke of *Lorraine*, in the most effectual Manner, that the Pretender may not be permitted to return into his Dominions.

The Earl of *Stair* has also received Orders to remind his Royal Highness of the Declaration

ration he has already made, that such Officers in the Service of *France* as followed the Pretender into *Scotland*, shall be cashiered. And the King is persuaded, that his Royal Highness will not permit such General Officers, Colonels, and others, who may have followed and assisted the Pretender in the late Rebellion, ever to be employed afresh in the Service of his most Christian Majesty : And if any of the said Officers should hereafter return, or be already returned into *France*, that his Royal Highness will cause them to be punished, so that their Conduct may appear to have been as highly displeasing to his Royal Highness and the Government, as it is contrary to the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

To prevent all Mistakes in a Business of so important and delicate a Nature, the Earl of *Stair* has Orders to demand an Answer in Writing to this Memorial, which he passionately wishes to be such as may contribute to re-establish a good Intelligence between the two Nations.

So resolute a Declaration reduced his Royal Highness to a Necessity of declaring himself. There was no Medium ; he must either satisfy *Great Britain* by refusing the Pretender a Retreat in *France*, or absolutely break with a Prince whose Friendship might be of Service to him, for the sake of a Guest who was both useless to him and his Friends, as well
as

as troublesome to those that protected him. In a Word, Fortune having already abjured the Pretender, it was no hard Matter for the Regent to do so too ; and, agreeable to this, by the Advice of the Abbot *du Bois*, he made the Earl of *Stair* the following Answer, after having acquainted the Pretender with his Resolution, who immediately took the Road to *Avignon*.

“ His Royal Highness, taking Part in the Glory and Victories of the King of *Great Britain*, received the News of the Success of his Arms in *Scotland* with so much the greater Pleasure, as it is an Event which, at the same time that it secures the Tranquillity of his *Britannick* Majesty's Kingdoms, will also put an End to those false Reports that have been artfully propogated by such as are Enemies to the publick Peace, in order to impair that Friendship and Confidence which the King is resolved to entertain with his Majesty of *Great Britain* ; a Point that has always engaged the utmost Attention of his Royal Highness ; who, being desirous to comply exactly with the Treaty of *Utrecht*, has already made Use of the Authority with which he is intrusted, to oblige the *Chevalier de St. George* to leave the Kingdom, and his Royal Highness will continue to employ the same Authority to prevent his Return at any time hereafter, or under any Pretext whatsoever.

with

With respect to such Fugitives as may have fled from *England* into his Majesty's Dominions, or that may fly thither hereafter, tho' nothing be better understood than the Laws of Sanctuary and Protection in all Sovereign States, his Royal Highness being desirous to shew his Majesty of *Great Britain*, how very inconsistent it is with the King's Intentions, to suffer an Abuse of that Protection, by permitting Persons to enjoy it who should entertain any Correspondence capable of disturbing the Tranquillity of *Great Britain*, is willing to agree in Concert with his *Britannick* Majesty, upon all proper Methods for preventing such Abuses, and removing every Subject of Discontent and Jealousy. It is with the same Design of shewing how far his Majesty is indisposed to tolerate so great a Rashness, that an Edict is Issued against such Officers as presumed to go out of the Kingdom without Permission.

If it be true, agreeable to what is advanced by the Earl of *Stair*, that *England*, reposing itself upon the Faith of Treaties, was disarmed and defenceless ; it is not less so, that no Person whatsoever can say with Truth, that his Most Christian Majesty has, in any Degree, served himself of that Conjecture to the Prejudice of *Great Britain*, or that he has given any Succour to the *Chevalier de St. George*. It is known on the contrary, that his Royal Highness prevented and suppressed

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several

several military Undertakings in favour of the said Chevalier, so soon as he was made acquainted with them ; and nothing can better demonstrate, that the *Chevalier de St. George* was not assisted by *France*, than his wretched Condition when in *Scotland*, entirely destitute of every Thing that was necessary for such an Undertaking.

His Majesty sees, with Pleasure, the Marks of a perfect Harmony between the King of *Great Britain* and his Parliament, as the most certain Foundation both of that Prince's Glory and the Happiness of his Subjects. His Royal Highness feels the same Satisfaction; and desiring, very truly, to preserve his *Britannick* Majesty's Friendship, will omit nothing that may demonstrate how sensible he is of those Proofs he has received of it. His Royal Highness will do nothing, either directly or indirectly, that may influence the Duke of *Lorraine* to refuse any Demands which the King of *Great Britain* may make, with Relation to the *Chevalier de St. George's* residing in his Dominions, but will be sincerely glad to see his Majesty satisfied in this Particular ; persuading himself, on the other Hand, that the King of *England* will not desire him to proffer such Demands to a Prince over whom his Most Christian Majesty has no Authority, as the Regent would be at a Loss to alledge proper Grounds for, and which, on the other Hand, would add

no Weight to the powerful Instances of his *Britannick Majesty.*

These Answers are too exact and clear not to shew the King's real Dispositions; and it is to be hoped they will also display the Desire his Royal Highness has ever entertained to preserve his *Britannick Majesty's* Friendship, and to contribute all that can depend upon his particular Care, and the Authority he exercises, to establish and preserve a strict Union and perfect Intelligence between his Most Christian Majesty and the King of *Great Britain.*"

This Language was very agreeable to the Court of *England*, and to speak Truth, the Expulsion of the Pretender out of the Dominions of *France*, as well as an Edict published about the same Time, prohibiting the *French* Subjects to trade in the *South-Sea*, were two Points of such Importance to *Great Britain*, that they might justly serve for a Foundation to all that Friendship and Confidence which has sprung up between the two Nations. To balance the Exclusion of the *French* from the *South-Sea*, the Regent published a Declaration permitting them to trade to *Africa.*

From these Memorials, and the whole of his other Conduct, the Duke of *Orleans*, who, by a dexterous Management, had got himself declared Regent during the King's Minority, conceived the greatest Opinion of him.

The whole Court admired him without Envy, they dreaded him without hatred, and endeavoured to sooth him with the most artful Policy ; but there was nothing could make him, in the least, to depart from the Interest of his Country, or do any thing that had a Tendency to sully the Honour of the Station in which he was placed : And here it may not be improper to give an Instance of it, that so the Character of the Earl of *Stair* may be illustrated from an Example.

One Day the Regent, attended with the most splendid Retinue, went in his Coach to pay him a Visit, which his Excellency being informed of prepared for his Reception. The Coach halted at the Gate ; when the Earl of *Stair* came out of his Apartment, the Regent rose up, partly alighted from his Coach, set one Foot upon the Ground, and kept the other fixed in the Step : His Excellency, in the mean time, was advancing out of his Gate, but, observing the Posture the Regent was in, he stopped short ; then turned about and walked three or four Times backward and forward, and at last asked one of the Attendants, Whether his Royal Highness was come to visit him as his *Britannick Majesty's* Ambassador, or as Earl of *Stair* ? To which receiving no distinct Answer, he replied, “ If he comes to see Lord *Stair*, I shall reckon it my greatest Honour to receive any one Officer of the Crown, much
“ more

" more the Duke Regent, at the Door of
 " his Coach ; but, if he come to visit the
 " Ambassador of my August and Royal Ma-
 " ster, I think I should be unworthy the
 " Trust reposed in me, if I went further than
 " I have done.* " This being told the Re-
 gent, he re-entered his Coach, and afterward
 caused signify to his Excellency, that he was
 not desirous of seeing him at Court ; and,
 for some Months, he actually withdrew, till
 hearing of the Regent's fitting out a strong
 Squadron at *Toulon*, which the Court of *Brit-
 tain* could not look upon with Indifference,
 he went to Court, but in such a Manner as
 argued a consummate Policy, as well as an
 ardent Zeal for the Welfare of his Country.
 He set out in a private Chaise, and, be-
 ing met by the Chancellor *Huxelles*, who
 was very pompously attended, and paid his
 Compliments to his Excellency in the most
 elegant Manner, and invited him to take a
 Seat in his Coach : His Lordship thanked
 him for his Civility ; but told him, " That
 Q 3 " he

* Perhaps the Regent expected the same Honours
 should be done him, as were afterwards paid by the
 Czar of *Muscovy* to the King ; for the *Russian* re-
 ceived the *French* Monarch just as he alighted from
 his Coach : But, if we consider the Matter, we will
 find this particular Difference betwixt the two Cases ;
 The *Muscovite* in Person received the King in Person ;
 but *Stair*, who was all the *French* had in *Paris* for
 the King of *Great Britain*, only refused the *French*
 Monarch's Agent.

“ he wanted not Coaches, but was at present diverting himself as Lord *Stair*;” then parted from him, and came to the Court: But the Guards observing him declared, he had no Authority to be there; O! says he, “ tho’ the *British* Ambassador be debarred Access, yet the Lord *Stair* is not.” On which he was allowed to come in; and, having passed the first Guard, he hastened through the others, and came streight into the Chamber of Presence, where the King and Regent were standing amidst a vast Number of Nobility, Gentry, foreign Ambassadors and General Officers. No sooner did his Highness observe the Earl of *Stair* than he withdrew to an inner Chamber, whither he was followed by his Lordship, the Company standing aside to let him pass; and, as he entered the Room, he told him, That, if at present, he denied him Audience, perhaps, in Time, he might be glad to have one in his Turn. On this the Regent and he conversed two Hours; during which Time, he informed him of his Intrigues with the Czar, with the King of *Sweden*, and with Cardinal *Alberoni*, for bringing in the Pretender: His Royal Highness, observing, that nothing, tho’ ever so secretly transacted, could be kept up from so prying an Ambassador, and that the one half of the *French* Nation were, through Poverty, become Spies upon the other, made a Merit of discovering the whole to his *Britannick* Majesty. The

Tho' *Philip V.* Grandson of *Spain*, was, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, allowed to reign peaceably upon the Ruins of the *Spanish* Monarchy ; yet neither he, or his Ministers, being content with the Treaty obtained, they endeavoured to better themselves by Intrigues, and to procure by Craft, what by Force of Arms was impracticable. Cardinal *Alberoni*, the then *Spanish* Minister, knew very well, that, though the Emperor, by the late Treaty, was put in Possession of *Sicily* and *Flanders*, and secured in his other vast Dominions, was yet so far drained of his Treasure, by the last War, as to have no great Stomach for a Rupture : He judged the same of the other Powers engaged ; and, thinking, that *Great Britain* had got too advantageous Terms at the last general Pacification, his Aim was, to bring in a King upon her, who would be apt to relinquish every Advantage in Gratitude for the Favours done him ; but, as *Spain* was very unequal for accomplishing so great a Project, the Church Politician thought of a Tool from another Quarter, and that was *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, with the Czar of *Muscovy*, whom he incessantly laboured to reconcile. The former was easily brought into the Scheme, from a Prospect of regaining *Bremen* and *Verden*, and, by Means of the Czar, of conquering an Equivalent for the Provinces he was obliged to

to cede to him ; and the Czar was again allured with the Bait of having his Daughter married to the imaginary Monarch, and of having a beneficial Trade with *Britain* into the Ports of his new conquered Provinces : However, it is not to be presumed, that either the *Swedish* or the *Russian* Court would have gone so soon into the Proposal, if some *English* and *Scots* Gentlemen had not repaired after the Rebellion into their Dominions, more inflamed, since the Defeat at *Sheriffmuir* and *Preston*, with an Inclination for War, attributing their Disaster in those Places entirely to Fatality. The Representation of the Rebels, and the Gold of *Peru* remitted from *Modrid*, were very powerful Arguments with the two enterprising Monarchs, whose Ministers now met upon the Overtures of Peace, and for bringing about the Cardinal's Proposal.

Baron *Goertz*, who was among the ablest Statesmen in *Europe*, had twice an Interview with the Czar at the *Hague* about it ; and, having informed him, that he had got considerable Sums from the Disaffected in *England*, for buying Ships and Ammunition for invading *Scotland*, the *Muscovite* was so well pleased, that he went in Person to *Paris*, on the 7th *May*, where an Entertainment of 8000 Dishes was prepared ; and, under Pretext of visiting the Accademy, Arsenals, the Chambers of Rarities, and every Thing that

that might excite the Attention of the curious, he conferred with the Regent upon the intended Scheme. His Royal Highness, tho' ever desirous of having a King fixed in *Britain* by *French* Influence, seemed not quite satisfied with it, either from an Unwillingness to expend more Treasure in favours of a Fugitive, or because he thought, that the *Spanish* Gold, with the *Russian* and *Swedish* Arms, were sufficient to bring about the Design. The Conference with the Czar, tho' very secret, was, by the Regent's Secretary, communicated to the *British* Ambassador, who directly acquainted his Court, where such Measures were taken, by stationing the Ships and quartering the Forces, as rendered the Scheme impracticable; and, at the same time, a Letter from the *Swedish* Ambassador, Count *Gyllenbourg*, to his Brother *Gustavus*, then Ambassador in *France*, having fallen into his Lordship's Hands, it was transmitted to the *British* Court at *London*, where Count *Gyllenbourg* was arrested, and most of his Papers were seized, in which were many Letters from and to Baron *Goertz*: From these it appeared plainly, that an Invasion was designed; and indeed the same might have taken Place, had it not been for the seasonable Intelligence given by the Earl of *Stair*.

But these were not the only Attempts in favour of the unhappy Fugitive; that were defeated through his Means; but he likewise
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projected the Quadruple Alliance, offensive and defensive, between his *Britannick* Majesty, the Emperor, the Most Christian King, and the States General of the united Provinces; the better to baffle the Designs of the Court of *Madrid*, who now regalled the Pretender; and, in Hopes of a powerful Diversion in *Hungary*, attacked the Emperor, and fomented Disturbances in the *British* Dominions.

For, having formed a Design of seizing the Island of *Sicily*, they fitted out a Fleet for that Purpose, and, in *July* 1718, mastered most Part of the Places in it; but, while they were busily employed in attacking the Citadel of *Messina*, the *British* Fleet came to their Assistance, and, upon the 11th *August*, attacked twenty seven *Spanish* Ships of the Line, off *Cape Passaro*, and, after an obstinate Engagement, took and sunk the most of them: And, soon after, the King of *Sicily* acceded to the Quadruple Alliance. This stunning Blow so much chagrined the Court of *Spain*, that an Order was issued out for seizing upon all the *British* Merchant Ships and Effects in the Ports of that Kingdom. To redress which Injuries, Letters of Marque and Reprisals were given to the *British* Subjects against those of *Spain*, 3d *October* 1718; and, on the 17th, War was proclaimed against her.

Indeed the Court of *Spain* was, at this
Time

Time, the most intriguing in *Europe* ; for, not only did she endeavour to disturb the Tranquillity of *Britain*, but likewise of *France* ; for which Purpose the Prince of *Cellemare*, her Ambassador at *Paris*, had entered into a Contract with some Mutineers, to whom he gave Pensions : The Design was, to take away the Regent's Life ; to make an Inroad into four Provinces of the Kingdom ; to *spanify* the *French* Ministry, and thus pave a Way for uniting the whole, or at least the greatest Part, of the *French* Dominions, with those of the younger Branch of the House of *Bourbon* : Which Scheme might have taken Place, and rekindled the general War, if the same had not been discovered in the following extraordinary Manner.

Two Noblemen, who were intrusted with a Packet from the *Spanish* Ambassador to Cardinal *Alberoni*, containing a Relation of the Progress which he had made with some Noblemen for accomplishing the Schemes of his Court ; entered a Chaise, which broke down about two Leagues from *Paris* : The Postilion, observing them to take more Care of their Portmanteau* than themselves, after driving them to the End of the first Stage, he hastened to *Paris*, and gave immediate Notice of what he had seen to the Government. The Council of the Regency being

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* One of them said, He would rather lose 100,000 Pistoles than it.

instantly called, some were sent off with an Order to stop them ; which they actually did at *Poitiers*, and not only arrested their Persons, but sent their Portmanteau to *Paris*, in which were found the plainest Marks of a Conspiracy : That Night, *viz.* November 28th, several Persons of Distinction were seized, and sent to the *Bastile* ; and the *Spanish* Ambassador was commanded to leave the Kingdom.

The Abbot *du Bois* wrote a circular Letter to several Ministers residing at the *French* Court ; and particularly to the deceas'd Lord, acquainting him with the Motives which induced them to take this Step with regard to the Prince *de Cellamare*, by whose Letters it was plainly seen, that he was inciting the King's Subjects to a Revolution, and that he had formed a Plan to destroy the Tranquillity of the Kingdom ; and then concluded, in Terms which both discovered his Respect to the *British* Court, and a personal Esteem for her Ambassador. Soon after this, a Declaration of War was made by *France* against *Spain* ; and, tho' the same was looked upon rather as fictitious than real, yet the burning of six new Men of War upon the Stocks at *Port Passage*, and the taking of some Towns, put the Matter of *France's* being in earnest beyond all Possibility of Doubt : And now *Spain* being embarrassed with the two most powerful States

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in *Europe*, had Recourse to Art for extricating herself ; she was not only deprived of a Resource from the States General, from whom she hoped for Assistance in Ships, but the Person whom she most trusted, viz. *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, had been suddenly taken off, at *Frederickshall*, on the 30th *November*,

There was not a single Step that was taken, in a Manner, for the old Chevalier that escaped the Lyncean Eye of the Earl of *Stair* ; for, from the Month of *June*, till the End of *October*, he was making the most pressing Instances to the Regent, that the Duke of *Ormond*, who had resided during that Time in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, might not be tolerated in *France* : This coming to the Ears of Cardinal *Alberoni*, he invited him to come to *Madrid* ; where he was let into the Scheme agreed on betwixt *France* and *Spain* and the King of *Sweden* *, for making an Invasion on *Great Britain*, as soon as he had reduced *Frederickshall*, while the Duke of *Ormond* should make an Attempt upon *Ireland* with 8000 Men, that were to sail with him from the Port of *Biscay*. All this being discovered, by intercepting the Prince of *Cellamare*'s Packets, the Earl of *Stair* exerted himself to the utmost, in order to discourage the Design, and sent

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* Some only think, that this Monarch only opposed Art to Craft, and that he had never any real Intention to disturb the Peace of the *British* Nation.

such Accounts of his Procedure as astonished the King, and made him admire the Depth of his Penetration. Every Thing was put in the best Posture of Defence, both in *Britain* and *Ireland*, where 10,000 *l.* was set upon the Head of the Duke of *Ormond*.

So many great Actions, so constant a Run of glorious Success in his Negotiations, a Reputation so full, and so entire, appeared the sweetest and pleasantest Fruit of so much Toil: For indeed it might be said, that Heaven itself could have granted him no more Honours, since he was dignified, in a Manner, with all the Crowns that Glory itself can fix upon the Head of a Subject; but that which is ordinarily the Bound and Limit of other Heroes, was only the Way and the Mean for ours to arrive at a higher Pinnacle of Greatness. Thus Providence, by vesting in him so many illustrious Employments, interesting him in so many different Events, and making him the Instrument of so many Pieces of Service to his Country, prepared him, as it were, a Master, in the Knowledge of the *British* Interest, to the Great King *George*, that wisest of Statesmen, whom here I may call invincible; nor indeed must we think, that his Studies and his Experience could be better employed than in giving a Lesson to so acute a Schollar: But what cannot a great Master do, when he finds a Genius of the first Order to form? Scarce had the

the Earl of *Stair* given his first Advices, till he found it out of his Power to insist upon others, being prevented by the Quicksightedness, by the Penetration, by the happy and wise Impetuosity of the Courage and Conduct of so great a King; and, as People observe, the Thunderbolt, coming almost in a Moment within the Body of the Cloud, to burn, to blaze, to burst and to overturn; so the first Fires of a military Ardour, or of a political Zeal, are scarce kindled in the Heart of the King, when they burn, flame, and break through all. *Britain* and *Ireland* are put in a Posture of Defence; the Councils of the House of *Bourbon* are overturned by the Policy of the *British* Ambassador: Terror seizes upon *France*; and a surprising Admiration passes from one End of *Europe* to another.

But, tho' *Spain* was unable now to execute her Designs, yet the restless Spirit of the Cardinal still fomented the tumultuary Passions of the *British* Rebels, who had retired, partly by his Invitation, and partly without any, into the Dominions of his Master. The Invitation was kept a perfect Secret, even at *Madrid* itself; but, as there were some People about the Duke of *Ormond*, who, being elate with the Prospect of the Expedition, they thought proper to communicate the Designs to their Correspondents at *Paris*; and these having shewn their Letters to one *McDonal*,

a Lieutenant-Colonel in the *Irish* Brigades, he handed them about, till at last they came to the Ears of the *British* Ambassador, who sent Captain *Gardiner** express with an Account, *That the Preparations of the Spaniards at Cadiz, were certainly designed against South Britain ; and that their Fleets would put to Sea the 7th or 8th March N. S.*

This Piece of Intelligence was communicated by the King to his Parliament, who, after assuring him of their utmost Efforts to defeat so extraordinary an Attempt ; the Forces were every where in Motion, and perhaps would have had more Work to do, notwithstanding the *German* Troops lay ready at *Ostend* to embark to the Assistance of his *Britannick* Majesty, if the Enemies of their Country had not met with a Check from another Quarter.

The Duke of *Ormond*, with 5000 Land-forces on Board, having Provision, Ammunition, and every other Thing, embarked for the West of *England* ; but, meeting with a Storm off *Cape Finistre*, they were separated : His Grace, with the most of the *Irish* and *English* Officers, was obliged to put back into *Cadiz*, while the Earls of *Marshall* and *Seaforth*, and the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, pursued their Voyage, and landed at *Kintail* in the North of *Scotland*, on the 15th *April*,
with

* The worthy Gentleman since known by the Name of Colonel.

with about 400 *Spanish* Troops. They were very uneasy to know the Fate of the Duke of *Ormond*, and deferred moving from thence, till they should hear what was become of his Grace: But, before any certain Accounts arrived of his Disappointment, General *Wightman* was in full march to disperse them, having with him two *Swiss* and three *Dutch* Battallions, 120 Dragoons, with about 350 of Foot Soldiers. He came up with them on the Pretender's Birth Day, at the Pass of *Glenshiel*; where the *McKenzies* were stationed on one Side, the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, with the Laird of *McDouall*, upon the other, and the *Spaniards* entrenched in their Front, making in all about 1650 Men: No sooner do they enter the Pass than, to their Astonishment, the Rebels, who lay concealed among the Heath, alarmed them with their Shot, and killed the Colonel of a *Dutch* Regiment upon the Spot; which disheartened the Soldiers much, till a Major, whose Name I have forgot, led them on, with such Alacrity, amidst the Fire of the Enemy, that he played upon the *Flagellet* before them. General *Wightman*, observing the Matter, ordered some Hand-Granadoes to be thrown in among them, which fired the Heath, that was then very long, about their Ears; and one of the Splinters wounding *Seaforth* in the Wrist, his Clan carried him off, and at the same time retired in the greatest Confusion.

As the General was unacquainted with the Country, he ordered Captain *Monro* of *Cul-cairn*, who was there with about 80 Men of his Brother's Vassals, to pursue them; which he did with a surprising Alacrity, and, knowing these Steeps, he and they mounted them under Cover of some Coehorns that were brought to bear upon the Enemy, whom they pursued from one Rock to another, till that brave Officer was wounded. The Rebels, placed in the Right of the Pass, having given way, those on the Left made off full Speed, leaving the *Spaniards*, who now became an easy Conquest; for they were all made Prisoners of War without so much as drawing one Drop of Blood. This was the last Effort in favour of the old Pretender, during the Reign of that Father of his People, the illustrious King *George*, against whom so many Plots and Conspiracies were framed, but were as often baffled; and every true *Briton* ought to rejoice for so remarkable Events: And, although a Rebellion was lately raised by the *Highlanders*, yet the *English* Nation ought not to blame the whole Country of *Scotland* for the Fault of a few; they ought not to reckon all *Scotsmen* Rebels, since, with Pleasure, it may be remembered, that a *Scotsman* was the Instrument of defeating the many Contrivances that were laid for dethroning not only the best, but the greatest of Kings.

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The refined Policy of the Earl of *Stair* was now become next to a Proverb, and the People, as it were, bowed their Knee before him as he went forth into the Streets ; for the Populace of *France* are very averſe to a War with the *British* Nation. His Houſe was a Receptacle for the Poor, and he generally had the moſt ſubſtantial Diſhes prepared for them ; yea, and he himſelf always uſed an *English* Meal for his *Sundays* Diner, to which were frequently invited the principal Lords of the Court, or ſome of the foreign Ambaſſadors ; who all agreed in the Admiration of his Perſon, the Dexterity of his Conduct, and Politenefs of his Addreſs : And indeed this new blow that had been given to the Pretender's Scheme, through his Means, would, in a Manner, have rendered him adored by the Multitude, eſpecially when they recollected the Magnificence of his Appearance, *January* 25th, at his Entry into *Paris*, to congratulate their King on his Acceſſion to the Throne ; and, as the ſame was the moſt ſplendid ever ſeen on the like Occaſion, I think it would not be improper to ſet it down.

The Order of his Entry.

1. **T**HE Coach of the Chevalier de *Saintot*, the Introduc-
tor of Am-
baſſadors.

2. The

2. The Coach of the Marshal *d'Estrees*, Vice-Admiral of *France*.

3. His Excellency's Under Querry, at the Head of Thirty six Footmen in his Excellency's Livery.

4. One of his Majesty of *Great Britain's* Cabinet Couriers, or Messengers, on Horseback.

5. Six Horses led by Six Grooms, in the same Livery as his Excellency's Footmen.

6. Twelve Gentlemen on Horseback.

7. His Excellency's Querry, or Master of the Horse, on Horseback.

8. Twelve Pages in his Excellency's Livery on Horseback.

9. The King's Coach, in which were his Excellency, the Marshal *d'Estrees*, and the Chevalier *de Saintot*.

10. The Coaches of the Princes and the Princesses of the Blood, and that of the Abbot *du Bois*, Minister and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs.

11. Thirty Paces behind followed two *Swissers*, in his Excellency's Livery on Horseback.

12. His Excellency's Body Coach with Eight Glasses, drawn by Eight dapple Grey *Friesland* Horses, and a Footman on each Side the Coach.

13. His Excellency's second Coach drawn by Eight Mouse-coloured *Naples* Horses, and a Footman on each Side the Coach.

14. His

14. His Excellencies Calash drawn by Eight Bay Brown *Spanish* Horses, with black Manes, and a Footman on each Side.

15. His Excellency's fourth Coach drawn by Eight Bay Brown *Danish* Horses with black Manes, and a Footman on each Side.

16. His Excellency's fifth Coach drawn by Eight Black *Friesland* Horses, and a Footman on each Side.

17. The Coach of Mr. *Crawford*, Secretary to the Ambassy of his Majesty of *Great Britain*.

18. The Coaches of several *English* Lords and Gentlemen who made up his Excellency's Train.

An Account of the Livery and Equipage.

His Excellency's Liveries, for his Footmen, were of *Orange* coloured *English* Cloth trimmed with Velvet Lace, Blue, White, and Crimson, worked so as to represent his Excellency's Coat of Arms betwixt two Silver Laces, the Sleeves and Flaps covered with Lace, and the Shoulder Knot embroidered with Silver and Silk of the Colour of the Livery, adorned with Tufts and Lace of Silver, with Blue and White Feathers, and Cockades in their Hats, their Stockings of a Cherry Colour, with Silver Clocks; their Gloves embroidered with Silver 4 Inches deep and their Linen trimmed with Fine *Flanders* Lace.

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The six led Horses were the finest that Eyes could see, mounted with Saddles and Housing of different Sorts of Velvet, with different embroideries of Gold and Silver of the richest Sort, with their Caparisons in Gold and Silver Embroideries suited to the Liveries, and in their Compartments, the Arms, Cypher, and Devices of his Excellency.

His Querry, or Master of the Horse, was mounted on a fine *Spanish* Horse, his Equipage of Yellow Velvet, set off with fine Silver Fringes and Lace, the Housing and Holsters richly embroidered and embellished in the same Manner. The Harnesses of Silver Twist, set off with Buckles and Ornaments of Massy Silver.

The Pages were clad in the finest Orange coloured *English* Cloth trimmed with broad Silver Lace, pink'd and richly wrought, their Sleeves were faced with Blue Velvet with the same Lace, their Shoulder Knots embroidered with Silver Wire, and adorned with Tufts of Silver, their Hats laced with *Spanish* Point Lace, their Feathers White, and their Cockades Yellow, their Gloves had Silver Fringes, and were embroidered on the Back, they all rode on *English* Horses, their Saddles and Housings trimmed with Silver and Gold Lace and Embroidery, the Bridle Reins of Silver Twist, and all the Furnishing of the Harnesses of Massy Silver.

His

His Excellency's Gentlemen, and Under Querry, were all clad alike, in fine Ash coloured Cloth laced all over with a fine large open Silver Lace, their Hats laced with Silver, and their Cockades and Feathers Yellow, their Gloves, and the Harness of their Horses the same with those of the Pages.

The two *Swissers* in his Excellency's Livery, had rich Shoulder Belts covered with Silver Lace and Embroidery, their Gloves had Silver Fringes, their Swords Silver Handles, with large Silver Pommels, and Knot of Silver Ribbon ; their Hats were laced, and their Cockades and Feathers White and Blue ; they rode on Horses whose Harness were trimmed with Lace, Fringes and Embroidery.

The COACHES.

His Excellency's Body Coach had eight Glasses, was lined with *Persian* Crimson Velvet, the Ground-work of Gold ; never was a more magnificent seen, either for the Finess of the Sculpture and Gilding, or the Richness of its other Ornaments : The Roof within is adorned with a large Cartifane of the best Gold in *Paris*, which goes round and forms the Cantonements. In the Middle there is a great Rose likewise of a Gold Cartifane, and in its Centre a rich Ornament formed like a wreathed Tower ; round the Roof there's a large thick Gold Tuft garnished

ed with Fringes, Spinage Seed, and Geffamy Flowers. The Curtains are of *Genoa* Crimson Damask, richly embroidered with Gold, laced, and Garnished round with golden Vallences, adorned in the same Manner. The Body of the Coach without, except the Posts, which are all of Sculpture, is the same with the inner Roof, and of Crimson Velvet, covered with very rich Cartifanes of Gold, with Ornaments in *Mosaic* Work of Gold Wire. On the Pannels before and behind, and of the Boot, are the Arms of the King of *Great Britain* in Gold Embroidery of large embossed Work, and in those of the four Corners are the Devices of the Orders of the Garter, and St. *Andrew* embroidered in the same Manner. The Velvet on the outer Roof is almost quite covered by the Ornaments of the Cartifane and the golden Embroidery formed into Compartiments. Instead of Eight Apples there are Infants carved and joined two and two, holding in one Hand the Arms of *Great Britain*, and in the other a Plume of Feathers of Gold Wire mixed with Crimson Flowers; and instead of the Apples in the Middle there are Four Infants carved and joined, supporting the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*. The Cornish is adorned with a thick Gold Cordon, or Ridge, richly embroidered, which instead of Nails, forms Roses of Gold in Relief, from which hangs down a magnificent Fringe

Fringe in form of Spinage Seed, and Jessamy round the Roof. All the Braces and Ornaments of the Wheels or Springs are richly gilt with ground Gold. The Braces, false Braces, Cross and Traverses are covered with Crimson Velvet, and open Gold Lace. The Harness is also adorned with Crimson Velvet, and set off with Buckles and other Ornaments of gilt Brass. The Rims are of Twists of Gold Crimson Silk. The Buttons or Knobs are embellished with Seeds of Spinage and Jessamy in Gold. The Plumes of the Horses are of very fine Feathers adorned with Gold in a new and very particular Manner, and in the Middle of them there's a Garland of Crimson Flowers. The Coachman's Box is covered with the same Velvet as the Inside of the Coach, with a rich Gold Fringe in form of Spinage Seed and Jessamy.

The Second surpasses all that has ever yet been, for the Beauty and Curiosity of the Sculpture, wherein the Workman has in a Manner outdone himself. This Coach has Seven Glasses: 'Tis lined with a Crimson *Genoa* Damask with large Gold Flowers, set off with thick Gold Fringes, the Outside is rich Sculpture, partly silvered and partly gilt, with Ornaments of Flowers in their natural Colours. The Outside of the Roof is covered with Ornaments of Brass silvered and gilt, and ends a Basket of Flowers to the Life. From this Basket come eight Strings

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which carry great Buttons of Silver and Gold under each of the Apples that adorn the Cornish. The painting of the Pannels are Ornaments with the Arms, Cyphers, and Devices of his Excellency the Ambassador; that on the Back represents the Dawn of the Day, expelling Darkness, the Symbol of Truth, which disperses Error and false Prejudice. The Braces, false Braces, Crosses, Traverses, Harnesses, Braces and Reins, are of Yellow Velvet, adorned with Lace, Buttons, Buckles, &c. of Silver. The Horses Plumes are of White Feathers garnished with Gold, and Yellow ones with Silver: From the Middle of each comes a Garland of Gold and Silver mixed with Flowers of all Sorts of Colours. The Coachman's Box is covered with the same Velvet that lines the Coach, with a Gold Fringe round it.

The Third is a Calash lined with green Velvet, and a rich Gold Fringe, all the Outside, upon the Leather and the Roof, the Pillars before and behind, and the Buckles of the Braces are Brass richly gilt. In the fore Pannel *Great Britain* is represented by the Figure of *Minerva*, under which are Three Figures: That on the Right represents Fortitude with its Attributes. On both Sides the same Pannel are four *Nayades*, the Sterns of Ships adorned with Shells, Flakes of Ice and Reeds, to denote the Naval Power of *Great Britain*. On the Pan-

Pannel of the Right Boot are represented Valour, Nobility and Fidelity, bearing his Excellency's Arms; on that of the Left are represented Prudence, Vigilance and Secrecy, bearing also his Excellency's Arms; the Sides of those two Pannels are adorned with Architecture, Flowers and Buckles, where is represented the Force of the Four Virtues by different Symbols. On the Pannel behind, *Hercules* is represented conquering the *Hydra*; behind him there is a tempestuous Sea; and *Neptune* commanding the Storm and the Winds to cease, the Tempest flies before that God. The rest of the Pannels are adorned with Nymphs, Shells, Reeds, and other Things belonging to the Sea. The two little Sides represent Equity and Concord, enriched with Architecture and Flowers. The Harness is garnished with Green Velvet, and Braces finely gilt, the Strings and Reins, &c. are of Green Silk and Gold Thread.

The Fourth is a Coach with seven Glasse, covered within and without with Crimson Velvet, enriched with Cartifanes and Fringes of Gold. The Sculpture of the Body without is gilt at Bottom, and richly painted in all the Pannels with the Attributes of Peace, set off with three Rows of gilt Nails; on the Roof Eight Apples of Brass gilt of a Cherry Colour. The Braces, &c. are of *Russia* Leather, pinked and embroidered, and all the Braces of the finest Model, and gilt of a

Cherry Colour. The Coachman's Box is like the Furniture within, with rich gold Fringes.

The Coachman and Postilions of all the Coaches are clad in his Excellency's Livery, like those already mentioned.

All the Horses for the Coaches and Saddles, had their Manes adorned with rich Knots and Ribbons mixed with thick Tufts of Gold and Silver.

The Earl of *Stair* being come from *la Raquette* (where he was received by the Marshal *d'Estrees* and the Chevalier *de Saintot*) to the Hotel for the Entertainment of Ambassadors Extraordinary, he was complimented in the King's Name by the Marquis *de Gesires*, first Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber; on the Part of the Dutches of *Berry* by the Chevalier *de Hautefort*, her Master of the Horse; on the Part of *Madame*, by the Marquis *de Simiane*, her Master of the Horse; on the Part of the Duke of *Orleans* by the Marquis *de Simiane*, first Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber; and on the Part of the Dutches of *Orleans* by the Marquis *de St. Pierre*, her Master of the Horse. He was lodged in that Hotel, and entertained the three following Days by the King's Officers.

On the 7th the Prince *de Lambesc*, and the Chevalier *de Saintot*, Introducer of Ambassadors, went in the King's Coach to the Hotel

tel of Ambassadors Extraordinary to receive the Earl of *Stair*, and conducted him to his first publick Audience of his Majesty; on which Occasion he made the following Speech to his Majesty :

S I R,

THE King of *Great Britain*, my Master, sent me his Ambassador Extraordinary to your Majesty, to congratulate you on your Accession to the Crown, and to assure you, that there is nothing he more ardently desires, than to maintain and improve that perfect Friendship, which is so happily established with your Majesty; and to confirm and encrease the Union and mutual confidence between the two Nations, which is so beneficial to each. As long as these Nations are united, no foreign Force can endanger the Constitution of either State: And their Union may naturally be of long Duration. They have nothing to claim one of the other, no Pretensions to be decided between them.

Nature hath bounded *Great Britain* by the Sea: She seeks nothing that belongs to her Neighbours: She naturally finds her Advantage in the publick Quiet and Tranquility: Her Interest, as well as the Inclination and Wisdom of her King, dispose her to desire the Peace and Happiness of her Neighbours, and to contribute thereto.

Your Majesty is possessed of the finest
S 3 and

and most powerful Kingdom of *Europe* ; it wants nothing but Quiet and Tranquility to render it the most Happy and the most Flourishing.

These two Potent Nations so happily situate, united by Interest so natural, and by Treaties so wisely concerted, will not only be Happy in the Constitutions of each State, as long as their Union lasts, but will communicate the Happiness they enjoy to their Neighbours, and to all *Europe*.

The Treaty lately made sets out so clearly the Bounds between the Chief Powers ; so carefully provides against all Occasions of War, that human Prudence can foresee in the Course of Time ; and settles a Guaranty of such a Nature, and of such Force, for the publick Tranquility, that we have strong Reason to flatter ourselves no Power will attempt to disturb it. And your Majesty will have the Satisfaction and the Glory to see in the auspicious Beginnings of your Reign, *France* and all *Europe* re-established, which have been so cruelly torn in Pieces by such long and destructive Wars.

That in which your Majesty is at present engaged jointly with your Allies, will be of short Continuance : It is impossible that the ungoverned Passion, and blind Ambition of particular Persons, should long withstand the Forces of the greatest Powers in *Europe*, united for establishing the publick Tranquility.

on lasting and solid Foundations. The publick Peace and Welfare will soon succeed these transient Alarms.

The King, my Master, wishes your Majesty may enjoy, in a long Course of Years, you, and your Descendants; uninterrupted Fruits of that Welfare, and that the Two Nations as well as the Kings, may ever be united, as well during his Reign, as those of his Posterity.

As I have had the Happiness to see those Engagements formed; which unite the King my Master with your Majesty, I sha'l think myself very fortunate, if, by my Endeavours, I may, any way contribute to the keeping up of this happy Union, and to the rendering it more perfect between the two Nations.

The Answer returned by his Majesty, was,

“**T**HAT he was extremely pleased
“ with the good Intelligence between
“ himself and the King of *Great Britain*;
“ that he was satisfied it was very beneficial to
“ the two Nations; that his Excellency
“ might assure the King, that, on his Part,
“ he would do all that was in his Power for
“ continuing and improving the Friendship
“ and good Correspondence with the King,
“ and between the Nations; and that the
“ Choice which the King had made of his
“ Excellency was very agreeable to him.”

Four

Four Days after, (*Feb.* 11. *N. S.*) the Earl of *Stair* had publick Audience at the Palace of *Luxemburgh* of the Dutchess of *Berry*; and, on the 15th Instant, *N. S.* he had also publick Audience of *Madame*, the Dutchess Dowager of *Orleans*, and of the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of the Kingdom of *France*, to whom he made the following Speech.

S I R,

HHE King of *Great Britain*, my Master, has ordered me to assure you, that his Majesty looks upon himself as less engaged to your Royal Highness by the Ties of Blood, than by those of Friendship; which his Majesty will always maintain, on his Part, by an entire Confidence, and free Communication of Counsels in all Things relating to publick Affairs.

This Friendship is the strongest Band of the Union between *Great Britain* and *France*, to which Union both Nations owe the Tranquility they enjoy, and which they will soon communicate to all their Neighbours by the Execution and the Effects of the Quadruple Alliance.

The Plan of that Treaty establishes, in the first Place, Peace throughout *Europe*, on solid and lasting Foundations, by keeping to the Dispositions already made and settled in the chief Governments of *Europe*, with the Con-

Consent and Sanction of their Neighbours. *Secondly*, Provides against all Occasions of Dispute that human Prudence can foresee in the Course of Time. And, *thirdly*, Fixes a powerful Guaranty for the Publick Tranquility once settled.

To judge whether the Scheme of the Quadruple Alliance is good, it needs only be compared with that of our Enemies. Their Scheme appears to be, the overturning the Dispositions established in all the great Governments of *Europe*, by the several Nations themselves, and by solemn Treaties; the exciting of Civil Wars in every Country, and a general War throughout all *Europe*; the throwing all into Confusion, and leaving the Determination to the Sword, without proposing any other End at present, than a general Combustion, and endless Anarchy and Disorder for the Future.

These Truths are too evident to be long disguised with false Colours, by the Craft and Malice of some particular Persons. *Europe* will soon perceive its true Interest, and not hearken to those Incendiaries, who advise the preferring War and Confusion to Peace, to a quiet and orderly State of Affairs.

The King assures your Royal Highness, that he will never depart from the Designs and Ends of the Quadruple Alliance, which is to re-establish the publick Tranquility of *Europe*.

Reso-

Resolution and Firmness will soon overcome the few Difficulties that yet remain; Providence seems to declare itself every where for a Work so beneficial to Mankind; all the Machinations and Conspiracies of the Enemies of the publick Quiet, have failed every where, and we are very near seeing Peace and Tranquility restored.

For maintaining that Tranquility, the King proposes to continue in strict Alliance with *France*, and in perfect Friendship with his Royal Highness.

I shall think myself very Happy, if by my Ministry I can, in any Degree, contribute to the Execution of so good a Design: The more, because the Satisfaction of discharging my Duty will be accompanied with the Pleasure I have always found inseparable from the Honour of negotiating with your Royal Highness.

From this grand Appearance made by the deceas'd Lord, one may judge of the Greatness of his Soul, and of the Honour he did to the *British* Nation during his Ministry: He insisted on an explicit Answer to his Memorials relating to the intended Port of *Mardyke*, before he assumed any Character, with that Firmness and Dignity which ever distinguished him in Battles, Courts and Senates, in Favour and in Disgrace. He so far served his Country, as three Times to defeat

feat the Pretender's Projects ; and, extending his Generosity to the whole of *Europe*, he projected the Quadruple Alliance, which was the Mean of pacifying the Troubles both in the North and the South. When the Emperor and King of *Spain* were at War, he formed the Plan of a Treaty between his Royal Master and the Most Christian King, by which the contending Powers were brought to an Accommodation. He carried on that noble Contest with the Princes of the Blood, on the Cerimonial to be observed to Ambassadors of the first Order, and brought it to that Issue which has continued the Rule ever since. His Vigilance and Circumspection could not be deceived, and his Presence of Mind, Spirit and Resolution, such as could not be daunted, overawed or discomposed : His Address and Deportment were the Admiration of the Court, which had, till then, the Vanity to think, those delicate Flowers were only to be found in their own Soil. His Abilities had such an Ascendant over the Regent, that, being once publicly asked, What Part his Royal Highness would take in the Troubles of the North ? he Answered, " What the *British Ambassador* pleases."

So many grand Occasions and honourable Appearances proved a mean of incumbering his personal Estate, which, with the Debts he had contracted in Gaming, was the Cause of his being recalled. Upon his Return the
King

King declared himself so well pleased with his Conduct, that he would have created him a Duke, if he had not been prevented by Law*. The true Sense which the King had of his Fidelity was the greatest and most illustrious Elogium of his Virtue : The People ecchoed back the Praises of their King, while the whole of his Dominions resounded with Applause for his Conduct ; several Prints were drawn, and every one took a Pride to have his Picture by them.

He continued all that King's Reign as one of his Privy Council, was present at the most solemn Transactions ; and, on his present Majesty's ascending the Throne, he was received into the same Confidence. *April 1730*, he was made Lord Admiral of *Scotland*, which, with his other Posts, he held till *April 1733*, that he fell into Court-disgrace, upon the following Occasion :

In the Winter of the Year 1732, there was brought into Parliament a Scheme for changing the Duties on Tobacco and Wine, and bringing them under the Laws of Excise, for preventing of Frauds in the Revenue, which some People at the Helm loudly complained of. This Affair was disliked by the Trading Part of the Nation, who made so great

* By the Articles of Union, no *Scotsman* can be Nobilitated in *Britain*, and no Nobleman can be raised higher than he is ; which, some think, should be repealed.

great a Noise, that in *January* the Tobacco-nists of *London*, at a general Meeting, agreed to act in Concert with the Committee appointed by the Citizens, Merchants and Traders of *London*, and, by all just and lawful Means, to oppose any new Excise, or Extention of the Excise-laws, under any Pretence whatsoever; several Corporations earnestly recommended the same thing to their Representatives, and, in *February*, the City of *London* laid their Grievances before their four Representatives: Notwithstanding which the Scheme was proposed, and the Motion, with regard to Tobacco, was made, upon the 14th *March*, in a grand Committee, and, after a warm Debate, the Question was carried 266 against 205; and afterward, *March* 16. in the House by 249 against 189, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly; which being done upon the 4th *April*, and read for the first Time, the Sheriffs, with several of the Aldermen, Common Council Men, eminent Merchants and Traders of the City, went in their Coaches to *Westminster-Hall*, petitioning to be heard by their Council against the Bill, which was appointed to be read a second Time, *viz. April* 10th; but their Petition upon a Question was rejected, 214 against 197. Other Petitions were also brought in, when Sir *Robert Walpole* moved, that the Bill might not be read till the 12th *June*; which being agreed to, the Scheme
T dropt,

dropt, on which the greatest Rejoicings were made.

Among the Number of those who opposed it was the deceas'd Lord, not indeed from any dislike he had to the then Prime Minister, whose Zeal for the Welfare of his Country he was fully convinced of ; but, from a Prospect of the dismal Consequences that might arise from a People for whose Laws and Liberties more Martyrs have suffered than for those of any other Nation : And, being demanded by the late illustrious Queen, why he did so ? his Answer was, " That he " wished her Royal Family better than agree to such a Project ;" and, in a little Time, resigned all his Places into his Majesty's Hands, as did the Lord *Cobham*, the Duke of *Bolton*, the Earl of *Chesterfield*, the Earl of *Burlington*, and some others too tedious here to mention.

In the next Session, which was the last of that Parliament, he voted with all the Candour and Integrity that became so great a Man, not regarding the Smiles or Frowns of a Court ; and, when a Motion* was made in the House of Lords, to petition his Majesty to inform him of the Persons that had advised him to remove so many eminent and truly brave Men, he behaved with a Modesty that became the Greatness of his Soul.

In *June* 1734, he appeared at the Elections,

* This Motion was rejected by a Majority of Votes.

ons, and, as the Party who had sided with Sir *Robert Walpole* in promoting the Excise-scheme, had been at great Pains to carry the Elections of *Scotland*, he was the first to enter a Protest against the Method of their Procedure, viz. that the Military, who by act of Parliament ought to be removed some Miles from the Place of Election, were nevertheless under Arms at no further Distance than half a Mile ; the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Queensberry*, *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*, the Marquis of *Twedale*, and several other Lords, who mentioned the very Peers who were afterwards chosen, as those contained in the List named by the Minister and sent down by his Agent, protested likewise : And the Matter might have been carried a greater Length, had not the late Duke of *Argyle*, during the Heat of their Debate, told the Meeting, that he saw many strange Faces in the Room, and that he thought the same should be cleared ; on which several Ladies who had come in withdrew, and were followed by the Lords on the opposite Interest : So that the Court-party (as some call it) entirely prevailed, and the Petition given into Parliament, complaining of the Election, was afterward refused.

From this Time he applied himself to Agriculture, which he understood to such a Degree, that he might be called the *Virgil* of the Age ; he employed about 200 Work-

men every Day, and was as much admired for his Husbandry at home as he had been for his Politeness at the Court of *Versailles*: A vast Lake, of 100 Feet deep of Water, was drained by Means of Ditches which were digged for carrying it off; Places, which before were standing Waters, were by him made Fields of Corn; and, as his Estate lies in a very good Climate, viz. $55^{\circ}45'$ Lat. and much beholden to the gentle Zephyrs and molifying Vapour that proceeds from the Western Seas, his Crops were fuller than one is apt at first to imagine; vast Heaths, hitherto unuseful, were by him turned into Fields of Cabbage and Turnips, with which he fed his horned Cattle, which were remarkable afterward for their Fatness: And such vast Delight did he take in cultivating his Gardens, that, in the Time of Fruit, Travellers have declared, they never saw finer in any Part of the World. He daily rose about five o'Clock, put on his Boots, and, if he met any Marish in his Way, he scorned to go about, but stepped directly through it; so that at once such as saw him might observe the Air of an Husbandman, and the most consummate Soldier united in one Person.

During his Retirement from Court, he was visited by the Nobility from all Quarters; he corresponded with several Generals abroad, and with some of those Noblemen in *England* who had resigned at the same Time

Time with himself: He was most facetious in Conversation, and entertained them with such Discourses as served to instruct, as well as to amuse. When speaking of the King of Poland, he attracted the Admiration of all who heard him; and he has frequently declared, that he preferred hunting the Stag * at *Warsaw*, to the Gallantries and Amusements of the Court of *Versailles*. His Generosity here was like the Greatness of his Soul, for never Man bestowed his Favours with a better Grace. One Day a Physician had come to his House, and his Lordship judging, that if he offered him Money, it might be refused, contrived a Way to make him a Present: He went to his Parlour, and wrote a Line, which he gave to the Doctor to deliver, at the same Time apologizing for using the Freedom with him, in the politest and most amiable Manner; the Gentleman told him, that his Lordship's Commands were only an Honour to him, and with Pleasure they should be obeyed. Upon his coming to *Edinburgh*, he instantly repaired to the Person for whom the Letter was directed, and delivered it to him, when, to his Surprise, he was shewn the Contents of it: "Sir, pay the Bearer 30
 "Guineas, which is but a small Compli-
 T 3 "ment

* Stag-hunting is a frequent Diversion in *Poland*; and so dextrous was King *Augustus*, that, at one Blow, while on the Pursuit, he would cut off its Head;

“ ment for his Care of me, and place the
 “ same to the Account of, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,
 STAIR.

Time would fail me to represent the whole of his amiable and generous Actions: He was always a Friend to the distressed, and when stripp'd of all Employments, supported the Dignity of a Nobleman who had once proved an Ornament to the *British* Nation. But while he was encouraging Husbandry, and doing good to Mankind, he was not unmindful of Religion, for every *Sunday* he went to Church, appeared singularly devout, being a Presbyterian in his Judgment, and loving the Simplicity of the Gospel, stripp'd of every Ceremony and humane Invention, tho' conceived in the sublimest and most seraphick Terms; and here it may be observed, that in *France* his Chapel was an Asylum to the Protestants, for when some of them were taken up for attending at it, he was at the Expence of a Memorial to the Regent, who directly gave them Liberty to act as they pleased. Thus he continued till the Year 1741, when a Change happened at Court, to which he was called on the following Occasion:

The *British* Merchants had long complained, that Letters of Marque had been issued out from the *Spanish* Admiralty against the
British

British Ships, under Pretence of searching for contraband Goods and Passports; numerous Representations were made upon this at *Madrid*, several Conferences were held upon the Subject, and at last a Convention was signed on the 4th of *January*, 1739, in which *Spain* agreed to pay 95,000 *l.* to compensate the Losses of *Great Britain*. This Affair might have been amicably terminated, had not the Coal of Dissension been blown from another Quarter. *Spain* mustered up a Claim of 68,000 *l.* upon the *African* Company concerned in the Negroes, and refused to pay the 95,000 *l.* till the 68,000 *l.* was deduced; yea, and so high did they rise in their Demands, that *Thomas Geraldino* declared, his Master would assoon part with his Eyes as with his Right of visiting Ships in the *American* Seas: But perhaps Things had not so soon been carried to an Extremity, if the *Spanish* Ambassador had not informed his Court of the Divisions in Parliament, and that, by some well placed Sums, it was easy to get a Majority which might obtain such Terms as they pleased. This, with the Bishop of *Rennes* Declaration at *Madrid*, of the People being ripe for a Revolution, inflamed the *Spaniards* the more, and made them seize the *British* Ships where-ever they could find them. *October* 23. 1739, War was declared against *Spain*, who followed in her Turn on the 28th *November*. Admiral Ver-

non,

non, who had been sent to the *West-Indies* for protecting our Trade, had taken *Porto Bello* on the 22d *November*, and received 30,000 *Piafters* as a Ransom for not pillaging the Town. *April* 1st, he sailed to *Cartagena*, whose Outworks he took, and then sailed victorious up to the Harbour of the Town; debarked the Land-forces under cover of the Cannon from the Ships; but a violent Rain falling, which is mortal to our Soldiers in those Parts, and the Ladders being too short, through an Error in the Mathematician who computed the Height of the Wall of Fort *St. Lazara*, they were obliged to retire after trying what Bravery itself could do. Hence *Spain* rose in her Demands, and, being secretly assisted by the *French*, she was the more active in prosecuting her mighty Projects.

About a Year after the Beginning of the War with *Spain*, an Event happened, which, for eight Years together, occasioned the most melancholy Scenes: The Emperor *Charles VI.* died the 9th *October* 1740, which Day his eldest Daughter now Empress, was proclaimed Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and Archduchess of *Austria*; her Ministers at the several Courts of *Europe* notified her Accession, and supported the Legality of what was done, from her Claim in Consequence of the Will of *Ferdinand I.* and of the Deed of *Charles VI.* himself, 20th *June* 1722; wherein, with the unanimous Voice of a general Diet

Diet of the States of *Hungary*, then met at *Presburg*, an Act was past for settling the Succession of that Crown on the female Line of the House of *Austria*, with their Descendants, in failure of male Issue, according to the Right of Primogeniture. The Queen's Title was acknowledged by several Princes; but the Elector of *Bavaria* refused, and put in for it himself, founding his Pretensions to the *Austrian* Succession upon the same Will of *Ferdinand I.* and Descent from *Charles V.* as also, that he was married to the Emperor *Joseph's* Daughter. The Troops of his Electorate marched, *September 1741*, in support of his Claim, and were followed by 30,000 *French* Forces, under Pretence of securing the Freedom of electing an Emperor according to the Treaty of *Westphalia*, of which their King was Guarantee. On the other Hand, his *Britannick* Majesty supported the Pragmatick Sanction, and opposed the fixing of an Emperor by the Influence of the Court of *Versailles*; and, though her *Hungarian* Majesty was attacked by the King of *Prussia*, who marched his Troops, *December 14.* to protect *Silesia* from Insults, and, at the same Time, deprived of Assistance from the *Russians*, between whom and the *Swedes* a War had been just kindled; yet, under all these Disadvantages, was she assisted by the *British* Nation. During the Winter of the Year 1741, the Armies were active abroad, *Lintz* and

and a few Places were taken by the *Austrians*, who gained some Advantages in the Field, and extended into *Bavaria* itself; and at home, the Parliament were taken up with examining into the Merits of Elections, many of which being carried against Sir Robert Walpole, he resigned his Places into his Majesty's Hands, on which a total Change ensued in the Ministry. A Resolution was taken for supporting the Queen of *Hungary* and restoring the Balance of Power, which must be entirely destroyed if the Treaty of dividing the Dominions of the House of *Austria* succeeded, according to the Proposal of *France*: In Consequence of this Resolution 300,000 *l.* was given her; a considerable Body of *British* Troops were sent to *Flanders*, the Command of which, as also of the *Hanoverians* and *Hessians*, was given to the deceas'd Lord, who now began, like the Sun after setting for a long Night, to rise with the brighter Lustre. In *March* 1742, he was made Field-Marshal of his Majesty's Forces, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General.

This sudden Rise procured him the Love of every true Briton, and the King, on seeing him, received him with a Tenderness
and

* At that Time there was a popular Cry against Sir Robert Walpole, some reflecting upon him, without so much as knowing the Subject on which they spoke.

and Affection that convinced all present, that his Majesty was inclined to remember the Maxim of the wisest of Kings, *viz.* "Not to forget his Father's Friend." After this he was introduced to the Prince of *Wales*, who behaved with that endearing Sweetness, which proclaims him the Life, the Hopes, and the Ornament of the *British* Nation. The whole Court admired him; his old Friends repaired to him, and those he received with peculiar Marks of Gratitude and Complaisance; in a word, his former Disgrace made him shine the brighter; the Poets of the Time vied in singing his Elogium; *Britain* resounded with his Praise, while *Europe* stood amazed, expecting some extraordinary Event, upon the Restoration of a degraded Favourite, the Fame of whose Transactions had formerly eccho'd through their Territories.

He directly applied himself to the Management of the important Business committed to him, and knowing that he had to deal with the Ambassadors of *Spain*, *France*, and the new Emperor, he assiduously studied their Memorials, and made Answer to them before he set out for *Holland*, *viz.* April the 4th, where next Day he arrived; and on the 10th, being conducted to a publick Audience of their High Mightinesses, he made the following Harrangue:

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High and Mighty Lords,

THE King, my Master, closely united, as he is, with your Republick, by the strongest Ties of mutual Interest, whereby a good Correspondence between his Kingdoms and your States is rendered absolutely necessary for the reciprocal Support of their common Liberty and Independendence, is moreover desirous, in this delicate and dangerous Conjunction, to give you the most convincing Proofs of his perfect Friendship and entire Confidence; and it is for this Reason that his Majesty sends me hither in Quality of his Ambassador Extraordinary, with full Powers to concert, and take, jointly with your High Mightinesses, the proper Measures for preserving the Liberty of *Europe*, and re-establishing a just Balance of Power; as likewise for maintaining the Independendence of his own Kingdoms, and of the Dominions of your High Mightinesses, by preserving the House of *Austria*, in Conformity to our common Engagements, and to our mutual Interests; and his Majesty flatters himself, that these Measures will be taken without Loss of Time.

The whole World is informed of the generous Efforts, which your Ancestors made for the Recovery of their Liberty, and the Defence of their Religion. The whole World is Witness to the great Actions performed by

by your Republick, for the Support of the Liberty of *Europe*: Those glorious Actions do not allow the King to entertain one Moment's Doubt of the Magnanimity, and of the Wisdom of your Republick. You will not, certainly, submit now to the Servitude against which you fought so gloriously. In an entire Persuasion of this Truth, the King addresses himself to your High Mightinesses, assuring you of his intire Friendship and Confidence, and, at the same Time, of a powerful Assistance for supporting such Measures as shall be jointly taken.

The King extremely commends your High Mightinesses late wise Resolution of augmenting your Land Forces, and putting Part of your Fleet to Sea. Your High Mightinesses, in a strict Union with the King of *Great Britain*, will thereby become Masters of the Sea, which is a very great Advantage; and on the other Hand, you will be in a Condition to cover that Part of your Frontier, which you find at present to be the most exposed; and in Case your High Mightinesses judge it necessary, to procure an additional Defence on that Side; by a new Alliance, the King, as Elector, offers you, with the greatest Cordiality his Concurrence therein; and to the End that the Barrier may not be weakened by your Troops being employed in garrisoning that exposed Frontier, the King has given his Orders, in Consequence

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quence of the Requisition of the Queen of *Hungary*, for the transporting a considerable Body of his *British* Troops into the Low Countries.

When your High Mightinesses shall have thus put all your Frontiers into a Condition of not apprehending any Surprize, you will be able to protect your Allies in the Manner you shall think most convenient; and thereby other Princes, who might be willing to act in Conjunction with the maritime Powers, for the Maintenance of the Liberty of *Europe*, may be able to do it with the greater Freedom, and without Fear, which can never be the Case, without a perfect and declared Union of these two Powers, and without their taking Measures in Concert for their own reciprocal Security, and for the Preservation of their Allies, and the publick Liberty.

All that we have lately seen must clearly convince us, that the most solemn Treaties are too weak a Support for the Liberties of *Europe*, and that more real Securities are necessary.

The King finds himself obliged to remonstrate to your High Mightinesses, that the solemn Faith of Treaties requires that the Queen of *Hungary* should be assisted. The King, on his Part, has given most convincing Proofs of his good Faith, and of his Friendship towards the said Queen. The
con-

considerable Sums that were given her the last Year, and the still more considerable ones which are granted for this present Year, demonstrate his Majesty's Exactness in the Performance of his Engagements, and his Readiness to go even beyond them; and his Majesty relies upon the good Faith of your High Mightinesses, which is so well known, that you will not delay fulfilling, in the same Manner, your Engagements towards the said Queen; and his Majesty desires your High Mightinesses to consider, that if that Princess shall be once oppressed, it will be more difficult to support the general Independance of *Europe*.

The unanimous Consent of his Majesty's People, is such a Security to your High Mightinesses, for his good and generous Intentions, as cannot but be very agreeable to you; and the King flatters himself, that the Subjects of your High Mightinesses are in the like Sentiments, for the Preservation of their own Independance, and of the publick Liberty.

The Uprightness of my Heart, the Sincerity of my Intentions towards my Country, towards the King my Master, and towards your Republick, will, I hope, make up for many Defects. I will explain myself more fully, as soon as it shall please your High Mightinesses to name Commissaries to confer with me.

M. de Haaren, who presided that Day in the Assembly, returned the following Answer to his Excellency.

Mr. Ambassador,

THE Friendship and Union which have so long subsisted between the Crown of *Great Britain* and this Republick, have been always looked upon by their High Mightinesses, as too advantageous for them not to think themselves obliged to employ their utmost Endeavours towards cultivating of them, and rendering them perpetual.

It is then not at all surprizing, if they have now the greatest Pleasure in being informed of the Desire of his *Britannick* Majesty, not only to confirm the good Understanding between the maritime Powers, but to establish it upon more solid and stable Foundations than ever.

The Neighbourhood, the solemn Treaties, and the Conformity of Sentiments, as well with respect to Religion, as with respect to Liberty, all contribute to make us sensible of the inestimable Value of a strict Union between the two Nations. Their High Mightinesses will always give convincing Proofs of it, as also of their profound Veneration, and of their perfect Esteem for his Majesty's sacred Person, and for all his Royal Family, for the Preservation and Prosperity

rity whereof, they make the most ardent and sincere Vows : and they cannot, Sir, but signify to you, how much they are charmed with his Majesty's having chosen you to come hither on his Part, to give them such Assurances as will tend to the Increase of their mutual Friendship. No body, Sir, was more proper than yourself for this Employment; you, whose good Intention towards this Republick is known, and whose Merit is so universally applauded and admired.

Their High Mightinesses will give all their Attention to what you have just proposed to them, by Order of the King your Master, and they will be ready to give you Audience, and to name Commissaries to confer with you as often as you shall desire it.

This Memorial was attended with so much Persuasion, that the States resolved upon a second Augmentation of their Sea and Land Forces, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the *French* and Imperial Ambassadors, who were only told, that no Court ought to take Umbrage at their Preservation of themselves. The Earl of *Stair* was in frequent Conferences with their Commissaries, and although he could not prevail upon them at that Time to join their Troops to the Allies, in Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, yet he brought them so far as to re-

ceive 1634 of the *British* Troops into their Barrier Towns.

The States being incessantly ply'd by the Ministers of *France*, *Spain*, and the Emperor, to embrace a Neutrality, and by the Earl of *Stair*, to second the Endeavours of the *British* Nation in Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, found out a Pretext for pleasing all Parties ; they propos'd a general Peace in *Europe*, and inform'd them how willingly they would contribute all in their Power, to establish the same on a solid Foundation. The former seem'd to relish their Proposals, but the latter foresaw their Design, and on the 12th of *July* presented a Memorial, wherein, after mentioning the Works of *Dunkirk*, in Violation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, he and Mr. *Trevor* insist'd, " That
 " the States should name Commissaries to
 " inspect them, in Conjunction with those
 " of *Great Britain*. --- That their High
 " Mightinesses might deliberate on the Na-
 " ture of the Peace they would have, and
 " whether it would be better to make a solid
 " and lasting Peace for all *Europe*, than a
 " provisional one, which, in all Probability,
 " would be no better observed than the se-
 " veral Treaties made with *France* for some
 " Time past had been ; that the King of
 " *Great Britain*'s Resolution was to have a
 " solid and lasting Peace ; that he was con-
 " vinced, if their High Mightinesses acted
 " in

“ in Concert with him, the Court of *Ver-*
 “ *sailles* would not fail to listen to the Pro-
 “ posals of the maritime Powers, which
 “ if she did not, his Majesty was per-
 “ suaded, that their joint Forces, added to
 “ those of their Allies, would infinitely sur-
 “ pass the Force of *France*, especially in the
 “ present Conjunction, when a War cannot
 “ fail of being extremely detrimental to that
 “ Crown.”

“ This Memorial was followed by another
 “ of the 18th of *August*, in which the pres-
 “ sing Instances of the Queen of *Hungary*,
 “ for Assistance from his *Britannick* Majesty,
 “ against a powerful *French* Army, which
 “ was marching thro’ the Heart of *Germany*,
 “ were laid down; and the pitiful Artifices
 “ of the *French*, who pretended to be seek-
 “ ing for Peace by such Irruptions, in Vio-
 “ lation of the most solemn Treaties, were
 “ detected, and their High Mightinesses
 “ earnestly solicited to concur in saving the
 “ House of *Austria*.” Commissaries were
 directly appointed to confer with them, but
 some Difficulties arising about the Manner
 of their Assistance, and the *French* Ambassa-
 dor having delivered a Memorial, in which,
 in the Name of his Court, he offered to put
Dunkirk in their Hands, he went over to
England in six Days after, and communica-
 ted to his Majesty and the Privy Council,
 the whole of his Transactions, which being

unanimously approved, he immediately set out for the *Hague*, on the 3d *September*, with full Power to act as he should see Occasion. The States made a grand Promotion of general Officers on the 8th *September*, and rejected the Offer of *Dunkirk*, which was a sure Indication of their Design for having a Share in the War; but still declined appearing openly, till Fortune favoured the Allies at *Dettingen*, of which in its Place.

From the *Hague* he set out for *Brussels* on the 15th *October*, where he rectified the following Abuses, viz. Some of the Officers were for detaining Part of the *Soldiers* pay for their Passage, and the *Dragoons* were deprived of the Perquisite arising from the Dung of their Horses. He remonstrated with the Officers, upon the Dishonour of the Action, and ordered each Paymaster and Quartermaster, under Pain of being broke, to clear off their Arrears, before St. *Andrew's* Day, when he proposed to be at *Ghent*; which Place he entered under a Discharge of the Artillery, and passed along the Troops, drawn up in Lines, who received him with repeated Huzzas; "Stair for ever, long live the Earl of "Stair." Hence he set out for *Aix la Chapelle*, and, in two Days after, for the Army: Here two Soldiers were sentenced to be shot, for offering Violence to their Officers, but one of them was pardoned by him; but, being obliged to kneel, he was gently removed
just

just as the File of Musquetiers were ready to fire upon him, the Cloath was no sooner taken off his Face than he fainted away. He designed for Liege, but the Garrison shut their Gates upon him ; however, the Governor came forth, paid him his Compliments, and, as he passed, he was saluted by a round from the Ramparts of the Place, and proceeded to the Army lying at *Digheim* in the Electorate of *Mentz* ; and, being near *Franckfort* the Emperor's Residence, he published a Memorial for removing any uneasiness that might accrue to the Imperial Court from the Approach of the Troops under his Command ; and indeed the Army under his Conduct was only for preserving the House of *Austria*, and not for annulling the Election of the Emperor, to which his *Britannick Majesty* acceded in Form.

He was taken up in reviewing the Troops, or in making such Dispositions as he judged to tend most to bringing about the most salutary Ends ; thus he continued till the 1st *June* that he set out for *Aschaffenberg*, a Place where there is a Stone Bridge over the *Mayne*, from the following Motive.

Three *French Armies* had been traversing *Germany* ; one under the Conduct of Marshal *Maillebois*, with Intent to overaw the Electorate of *Hanover*, another under *Broglio* to assist the Elector of *Bavaria*, and a third with Marshal *Belleisle* for preventing any Assistance

sistance from *Bobemia* for supporting the *Hungarian* Queen. These three Armies, by their vast Marches and frequent Skirmishes, were reduced to the lowest Ebb, and, of 100,000 Men, not 25,000 remained, and these were daily harrassed by the *Hungarian* Armies still at their Heels. The Court of *Versailles* was apprised of the Danger they run, and, for hindering the *British* Troops from cutting off their Retreat, she ordered another Army to march under Marshal *Noailles*, who perhaps was as great an Officer as she had ; his Employment was to observe the Motions of the Earl of *Stair*, whose Conduct and Courage he had formerly known, and whose Acquaintance he was. This artfull Captain, knowing the Capacity of his Antagonist, endeavoured to outwit him in his Schemes ; but his Policy was as a Shaft rebounding upon the Bos of a Buckler when exerted against the deceas'd Lord.

The *French* General, now stunned at such unusal Dexterity, pitched on the other Side of the *Main*, and watched his Motions, while the *British* General let slip no Opportunity of observing the Conduct of the *French*. He one Day rode along the Bridge with about 30 Horse, and, prompted by a Magnanimity which was ever natural to him, he advanced some Paces within a Wood where a Body of the Enemies *Hussars* was placed, they immediately fired from behind the Thickets,

Thickets, wounded his Aid de Camp, while his Lordship's Hat was shot through by a Ball ; upon which he thought prudent to retire, but with the utmost Composure and Serenity of Mind. Here perhaps the two great Generals might have tried each other's Skill for some longer Time, if it had not been for the following Circumstance, which brought on a Battle which I am now going to describe.

The Earl of *Stair* being informed, that 6000 *Hessians* and 6000 *Lunenburghers*, in *British* Pay, were at *Hanau*, a Town situated on a Branch of the *Main*, and considering that the Enemy, tho' on the other Side of the River, lay betwixt him and them, decamped, on the 15th *June* 1743, with the *British* Troops and about 3000 of the *Austrians* who had joined him but a few Days before ; Marshal *Noailles* being advised of this March, caused the best Part of his Troops, viz. the Household-troops, with several other Regiments, in all about 30,000 Men, to cross the River in order to intercept them, while the Meanders of the River were lined with devouring Cannon, to prevent the Allies from observing the Dispositions he had made for an Action ; he likewise ordered the Rest of the Army to march up toward *Aschaffenberg*, in order to attack the Allies in Flank during the Engagement. This Scheme of the Marshal was extreamly well laid, and
must

must have succeeded, if it had not been for the lyncean Eye of the Earl of *Stair*, who ordered 15,000 of the Troops, with the Artillery, to move slowly behind him. This Step not only disconcerted the Marshal's Plan, but drew from him the most generous Encomiums upon his Rival: For he was heard say, "I need not be surpris'd at this extraordinary Prudence; for I know the Earl of *Stair*." By this Time it was near eight o'Clock in the Morning, when one Captain *Hallyburton*, who had been with a patrolling Party, observed the March of the Enemy, which he immediately told the Earl, and he directly prepared to receive them. As a Battery of Cannon was planted on a Meander of the *Main*, he went to the very Place opposite to it for encouraging the Troops; a Battery was erected by his Direction, which silenced that of the Enemy. It was about this Time that his Majesty, who had been indefatigable from the Time of his Arrival four Days before, came up with the Troops, being informed by an Express of the Motions of the Enemy; this, with the silencing of the Battery, encouraged the Army to the utmost: He was the first to draw his Sword, and rode along the Lines, now formed by the Earl of *Stair*, whose Dispositions he highly approved; for his Lordship drew them up at the Entrance of a Wood, upon Advice that the *French* were passing the
Main

Main at *Silegenstadt*, which was covered by the winding of the *Main*, and lay to the South West of them. Lieutenant-Generals *Clayton* and *Somerfeldt*, with the Duke of *Cumberland*, as Major-General, were at the Head of the first Line of Foot ; the Earls of *Dunmore* and *Rothes* at the Head of the second ; Generals *Honeywood*, *Campbell* and *Ligonier* at the Head of the first Line of Horse, and *Cope* and *Halley* at the Head of the second ; while the deceas'd Lord, after encouraging the Men, was posted, upon a dapple Gray fine Galloway Horse of his own breaking, on the Right of the whole. The Army, now ready for Action, seemed to be concerned only for the Life of their King ; Lord *Stair* went to him, and earnestly besought him not to hazard his Person, for which he, as Commander of the *British* Troops, was answerable ; and insisted upon the Consternation that would be raised among the Troops if any Accident happened his sacred Life. 'Twas with the utmost Difficulty he could be persuaded to withdraw for some Paces to the Right, and there continued fully as much exposed as if in the midst of the Forces, who had the River *Main* on their Left, a Wood upon their Right, which extended North-West, and a Morass before them. The Cannon began now to play furiously on both Sides, and, as the *French* were superior in Artillery, they must have

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ruined

ruined our Forces, having flanked them from Right to Left within 200 Paces, if it had not been for the Mistakes they committed in calculating the Amplitude of the Ball. Our's did the most terrible Execution among them, because the Place they were in was an Ascent above the Level of the Ground where the Allies were formed; as the Balls from their Cannon flew over the Heads of our Troops, some of our Generals brandished their Swords, and cried out, "Courage brave Boys! here's a fine Diversion." Things continued in this Situation till about 12 o'Clock, when the Duke of *Gramont* advanced with the Gens d' Arms, without Beat of Drum, under Cover of the Smoak, which blowing off by the ceasing of their Batteries, the Army had a View of them, and raised a dreadful Huzza. Nothing was now between the two Armies but a Morass, which the impetuous *Gramont* quickly passed, and came up so close to the first Line of the Infantry, that the Colour of their Eyes could be easily distinguished: Here they paused a little; but, on tossing of a Lash, the Signal agreed on, they furiously broke into the Left of the *British* Infantry, which had opened for about 18 Yards to receive them: Some of that Line were cut down, but the Remainder closing upon them made so terrible a Fire that few of them escaped; for the first Rank, who had wheeled now, pressed the Muzzle of their Guns into
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the Sides of the Horses, and poured in their Shot upon them, while those of the second and third levelled their Fire upon the Enemy interjacent between their Lines thus exposed ; and such as escaped through the Lines were met by the *Hanoverians* in the second, and by the *Austrians* in the third, who fired full in their Faces. In a Word, the most of these, and the Remainder who were engaged by *Ligonier* and *Honeywood's* Dragoons, were either cut in Pieces or taken Prisoners, only some few were carried to the Woods by their Horses, who were in the most terrible Amazement ; and, while these are thus routed, four different Times did the Gens d'Arms engage, but four Times were broke. The Black Mufquetaires detached themselves from their Line, rode full Gallop along our Front-line, to attack the first Squadron on the Right ; but received a terrible Fire as they passed, and were almost all cut to Pieces by the Dragoons of the deceas'd Lord, *Halley*, *Rich* and *Honeywood*, and their Standard was taken. Much about this Time their Infantry came up, which General *Clayton* observing, desired a Detachment of Dragoons might be sent him, to prevent the Enemy's flanking him on the Side of the River. The *Blues* were instantly sent to him ; but the *French* Cannon playing furiously upon them, the young Horses startled and directly run off: This created a Damp among

the Generals ; but the deceas'd Lord said, with the greatest Coolness, " There must be " some Mistake in it ; I will bring back the " *Blues.*" With these Words he galloped after them, roused their Courage, rode before them, and thus led them back to the Charge ; and, being a little short sighted, he was going in among the *French*, till one, observing his Mistake, took his Horse by the Bridle and informed him of it. 'Twas now that the dreadful Firing began on both Sides, which lasted full two Hours, when Lord *Stair* caused his Lines retire a little Backward for Conveniency of the Ground ; at this the Enemy raised an Huzza, but were soon answered by a louder, at which they were much disheartened ; and, not being supported by their Horse, and observing the regular Fire of the Allies, formed an hollow Square, and endeavoured to retreat. Here they met with the greatest Disaster ; for a Party of the *Hannoverians* having brought up some Field-pieces near the Place where they were, the Cartridge-Shot made Lanes through them : And, as they were obliged to pass through Defiles, on account of the Morass, the other Artillery being brought to bear, cut them off in Files. The Allies were now ready to pursue, till his Majesty, either from a paternal Care of his People, whom he would not expose through the Defiles that lay between the Woods and Marish on the
one

one Hand, and between the Marish and *Main* on the other ; or, from that Clemency which is the distinguished Characteristick of his House, ordered them to halt. Tho' the *French*, by this Relaxation, were somewhat recovered from their Confusion ; yet, in a Fright, did they repass the *Main*, where several of their wounded Men dropt, while others, by the breaking of a Bridge, were drowned in the River. The Allies now found themselves Masters of a Field, where the *British* Troops bore as much Honour as in any of whatever Age, and where Friends and Enemies admired the Courage and Conduct of the King and of the deceas'd Lord. The Enemy had 3000 Men killed, with one Major-General, eight Brigadiers and three Colonels ; and wounded five Lieutenant-Generals, five Major-Generals, five Brigadiers, three Colonels, with the Duke d'*Ayen*, Marshal *Noailles*'s eldest Son, besides several others : They likewise lost four Pieces of Cannon, with six Standards ; the first of which was White, finely embroidered on each Side with Gold and Silver, a Thunder bolt in the Middle upon a Blue and White Ground, Motto, *Sensere Gigantes*. Second, A red one, two Hands with a Sword, with a Laurel-wreath and Imperial Crown at Top, Motto, *Incorrupta fides & avita virtus* ; on the other Side the Sun, Motto, *Nec viribus impar*. Third, A Yellow Standard embroidered with

Gold and Silver, the Sun in the Middle. Fourth, A Green *ditto* in the same Way. Fifth, The Mast of another tore off, but appeared to have been Red. Sixth, The White Standard of the Black Musquetaires, embroidered with Gold and Silver, in the Middle a Bunch of nine Arrows, tied with a Wreath, all stained with Blood; the Lance broke, the Cornet killed, without falling, he being buckled behind to his Horse, and his Standard buckled to him, Motto, *Alterius Jovis altera tela*. On the Side, of the Allies were slain 2000, among whom Lieutenant-General Clayton, and his Aid de Camp Major Campbell, who died some Hours after in Tortures, as a Ball had driven the broken Splinters of the Glass of his Inkhorn into several Parts of his Groin; there were as many wounded, among whom, the illustrious Duke of Cumberland and General Husk, with Duke d'Artemberg. After the Battle the King dined on a cold Shoulder of Mutton, while the Officers and Soldiers stepped on in the best Manner they could, in their Ranks, to the intended Junction.

Night and a heavy Rain now advancing, they halted about half a Mile on this Side *Dettingen*, and next Day marched to *Hanau*; where there arrived two *French* Officers, and (one of them being a Brigadier, and desperately wounded in the Face) were conducted into his Lordship's Apartment: He received them
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with so genteel an Air, such insinuating Complaisance, and so much Mildness and Affability, as made them admire as much his Sweetness in Hours of Peace, as they had his Fire in the Field of Action. He ordered his own Surgeon to dress their Wounds, and sent them to the Army in his own State-Coach, and wrote a most complaisant Letter recommending the Wounded to M. *Noailles*.

While here, *Hanau* was crowded with Multitudes, to whom he appeared in the brightest Lustre. The Troops were not suffered to raise Contributions in the Country, for they paid for their Subsistence; and three Tables were furnished every Day at the Charge of the deceas'd Lord, one for himself and the Generals (at which were 150 Dishes to Dinner, and 50 to Supper) one for the Subaltern-officers, and one for his own Servants, and those of his Friends.

From this Place the Army marched unto *Reichhausen*, the Camp which the *French* Cavalry had; and afterward arrived at *Worms*, which was appointed as the Rendezvous of the *French* Troops that were retreating out of *Germany*. 'Twas here that the Earl of *Stair* got Liberty to resign his Command of the Army, the Cause of which is variously assigned, nor will I pretend to give the true Reason; I shall therefore insert what has been roundly alledged to me, and leave the Reader to judge as he pleases.

While

While at *Hanau*, the Earl of *Stair* concerted a Plan for attacking the *French* in their Lines, and improving upon the Disaster they had lately sustained, but this was not approved of by his Majesty, to whom it was shewn. It is not my Business to determine the Event, if the Plan had been executed, but shall only observe, that such is human Frailty, that Heroes themselves sometimes differ in their Opinions. As they advanced toward *Spire*, an Information was brought, that the Duke of *Boufflers*, in M. *Noailles* Absence, was fortifying *Landau* against them. The King formed a Plan of forcing their Lines at this Place, and communicating the same to the Earl of *Stair*, ordered him to begin it with the *British* Troops, as they were generally best for Attacks; but this not being approved of by his Lordship, he hastily desired that his Majesty might begin it with the Troops of his Electorate, and he should sustain him with the *British* under his Command. This Answer not pleasing the King, he discovered something of a Dryness toward him, which the Earl observing, he petitioned to have Liberty to return to his Plough: His Request was granted, he sold off his Field Equipage, and by Order of his Majesty repaired to the *Hague*, to take his Leave of the States, which he did on the 31st of October, by a Memorial, in which, after saying

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It is but natural that Princes shall employ in their Service such as are most agreeable to them, he applauds their Conduct, for having sent a Body of their Troops for Support of the House of *Austria*, whose Slavery must be followed by that of all *Europe* besides. From thence he came over to *England*, where he was in a Manner adored, for the Nation in general founded his Applause: It was now he became intimate with the Prince of *Wales*, that Delight of all Men, to whom I must apply the Character given by *Virgil* to *Marcellus*, the Nephew of *Augustus Cæsar*:

The *British* Isle may boast she never bore,
From Age to Age so brave a Son before.
Britain in him beholds with ravish'd Eyes,
Her Pride, her Glory, her *Marcellus* rise.

He was almost every Night in *Leicester-fields*, and when sick his Royal Highness paid him a Visit. His amiable Consort shewed him likewise the greatest Marks of Esteem, and the Duke of *Cumberland* was, in a Manner, daily with him by Seven o'Clock in the Winter Mornings; the Street where he lodged was crowded with Coaches, and all were wrapt up in Admiration of him. It was during this Winter that the young Chevalier set out for *France*, on Design to invade the *British* Isle, by the Help of that Power, which perhaps he would have done,

done, had he not been prevented by the effectual Measures taken to defeat his Attempts, on Intimation of the King, to whom it was divulged : The whole Nation declared for their Sovereign, and none was more zealous than the Earl of *Stair*, for on the 21st of *February* he waited on his Majesty at *St. James's*, with an Offer of his Service, and was graciously received, made Commander in Chief of the Forces in *South Britain*, and on the 2^d of *October* was chosen one of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*; but nothing remarkable happened in which he was concerned from that Period, till the breaking out of the Rebellion, the Spring of which we shall trace.

Simon Lord Lovat, whose fatal Exit is so fresh in every Person's Memory, was in the Interest of King *James* and the Pretender since the Revolution; in the Year 1715 he was in all the Secrets of the Court of *St. Germans*, but observing that Mr. *McKenzie*, of *Frazerdale*, who, in Right of his Lady, claimed the Lordship of *Lovat*, had joined the Chevalier, which would exclude him from the Estate, of which he judged himself the sole Heir, he joined with the Government, expecting to be favoured if successful; his Conjecture was just; he was declared Lord *Lovat*, and had a Pension assigned him; but no sooner is he entrusted by the King, than he plotted with *Seaforth* and

and *Tullebardin* against him ; but their Schemes proving abortive, and he not being suspected, continued in Places of Trust, and was made a Captain of one of the independent Highland Companies, which when regimented, old *Simon* was discharged ; this stirred up his Revenge to such a Degree, that he wrote a Letter to the old Pretender, by a trusty Friend, proffering him the Throne : His Son eagerly grasped at the Project, while the Father, after a short Pause, returned him an Answer from his own Hand, thanking him for his Loyalty, in Testimony of which, he appointed him Lieutenant-General of the Highlands, and Duke of *Frazer* : The old Man receiving Titles beyond what Ambition herself could have formed, set about stirring up the Spirits of the Clans, and by representing the Weakness of some Officers who were Boys, magnifying the Advantage of the broad Sword and Target, above the Gun and Bayonet, narrating the Feats of their Ancestors, and by interpreting Prophecies and Dreams, he soon ripened into an Insurrection, the Spirits of Men, who wanted to be revenged for their Disappointment at *Sberiffmuir*, thro' Fatality ! At *Preston* thro' Treachery ! At *Glenshiel* thro' the firing of Heath about their Ears ! Having prepared these, he from Time to Time informed the Chevalier of his Intentions, and communicated

cated his Scheme to *Perth, Drummond, of Boxbaldie*, and some others, who joined him in an Address to the *French Court* for Assistance; she sooth'd the Petitioners with fair Promises, but did not venture upon the Execution of them, till her frequent Losses, and her Projects in the Empire, set her upon seeking out the *Italian Tool*.

The Part which Lord *Stair* acted during that Time, was great; he was one of the Regency while the King was abroad, and on the first burst of the Storm, he concerted such Measures as were most likely to defeat the Project of the Adventurer: It is certain, that his Advice was to prepare directly, against all Events, for he told the other Members the Nature of the Highlanders, but alas, his Representation was not received with the Regard which it ought; General *Cope* was ordered, with his raw Forces, to march and disperse them, without waiting for some Veterans at *Stirling*, as was the Opinion of the Earl of *Stair*. The Event of the Battle of *Preston* is so fully set down, in the History of the Rebellion, that I shall not insist upon it here. As the Rebels advanced, they discovered the most revengeful Disposition against him, his Parks were plundered by the private Men, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the Officers; they even took a Pride to hurt him, for Instances may be given of this: An old Jacobite seized

seized upon one of his Servants, brought him to the Camp, and had a Certificate given him of this Piece of Service, of which he designed to make a Merit at the Court of the young Chevalier, of whom it will not be improper to give a personal Character.

It is hard to say, whether *English* or *Italian* was his native Language, for his Father's Court at St. *Albano* spoke the former, but the Populace the latter; *French* and *Spanish* became easy to him thro' Custom, for after his first Rudiments in Learning he went to the Marshal *Berwick*, learned Fortification and Gunnery in the most familiar Way, and understood the Terms in the same Manner as a Citizen knows the Streets of a Town where he lives; but not to dwell upon him while abroad, I shall survey his Conduct while here.

His Party give him out to be a Person who needed nothing to be admired but to be seen, while others represent him as a slender young Man, who only attracts the Attention by the pompous Titles which he hitherto assumes. It is agreed by his Friends, that he is very furious and passionate, and that he has a Way of staring Sideways at People, which argues something of Distrust; he seems rather to be pensive than volatile, but his Actions seldom are the Result of a just Deliberation and Thought; and sometimes

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such Sallies proceed from him, as argues a Savageness discernable in his Eyes, which, while rolling in his Head, upon turning about without speaking to one who was enquiring of him, appear rather terrible than mild ; his emitting the Saliva which he forms in his Mouth, is really nauseous, and if he was not at Pains to act in Disguise of his natural Disposition, he would be far from the amiable Person represented : His Humanity to the Prisoners at *Preston*, and elsewhere, is extolled by his Party, while his Enemies fix upon the following Events, to deprive him of that eminent Elogium. 1st, That the Civility shewn to the Prisoners, (and certainly Officers were never better used) was owing to *Perth*, Lord *George Murray*, and *Lochiel*, who were all remarkable for Compassion, and that it would have been absurd for him or them to have dealt rigorously at their first setting out. 2dly, That according to the solemn Oaths of the Witnesses at *York*, *Hamilton of Redbouse*, whose Conduct was approved by the Chevalier, threatened to cut the private Men in Pieces if they did not inlist with *his Prince*. 3dly, The raising Money under Pain of military Execution, while courting a Throne, the ordering back Goods forcibly taken away to the Owners, upon their paying the third of the Price, his Refusal to deliver up 700 *l.* to Mr. *Hepburn*, (I think of *Binston*) which had been

been plundered from his Cabinet, tho' the Matter was represented ; the Cruelties shewn after the Battle of *Falkirk*, in putting the Prisoners into Churches and Castles, without Victuals or Accommodation, and his rigorously insisting on hanging poor *Riddle*, a Stabler, for having two Letters from General *Guest* to Lord *Loudon*, narrating his Rout ; his Departure from *Inverness*, on the Day that two of the Duke's Soldiers, who had deserted from him, were actually hanged ; his positive Orders to the unfortunate *Cromarty*, to use with military Execution the People of *Sutherland*, if they did not submit to his Terms : Some even positively maintain, that he put forth Orders for giving no Quarter to the Duke's Army at the Battle of *Culloden* ; but, as this has been so strenuously denied, I shall not determine the Matter, and have only given such Facts as are universally known. His Courage was not remarkable here, since, in every Battle, he was out of Danger ; and the Fears which he discovered on every Occasion, during his Wandrings through the *Highlands* and *Isles*, argues but little of that Resolution or Greatness of Mind with which the Enemies of the Government would gladly make People believe he was endowed.

While he was advancing toward *England* the Earl of *Stair* was usually with the King at the publick Reviews, in which were to be

seen, Merchants and Tradesmen marching with their Wives and Children before them ; but, as the Rebels retreated back, the Confusion ceased, and those who had taken up Arms for their Aris et focis, retired to their own Occupations. He continued at Court till the Winter of the Year 1746, when he repaired to *Scotland*, finding himself in a languishing Condition and unfit for Business. By the Help of his Physicians, purely, he was preserved till about ten at Night of the 7th *May* 1747, when he breathed out a Life that had been employed in as eminent Services for his Country as ever was that of a Subject : And was interred, on *Monday* the 16th, with no more Pomp than if he had been stript of all Employments ; but yet such a visible Mourning as sufficiently expressed the national Loss of so great a Man.

Thus died Field Marshall *John* Earl of *Stair*, who was a Nobleman of the rarest Abilities, equally fitted for the Camp or the Court ; and how hard is it to say, in which he excelled ? A Man of the strictest Honour and Veracity ; great without Pride, beautiful without Vanity, just without Rigour, wise without Arrogance, bountiful without Ostentation ; supporting the highest of Dignity with a Decency, Humanity and Moderation, only to be found among the Great, being possessed of every Talent that could
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make a Man great in himself, serviceable to his King, or an Ornament to his Country.

The Earl of *Stair* was a Man about six Feet high, exceeding Streight, and genteel in his Body, which inclined to an agreeable Slendernefs; he was, perhaps, one of the handsomeft Men of his Time, and remarkable among the Nobility, for his graceful Mien and majestic Appearance; his Complexion was fair, but rather comely than delicate; his Forehead was large and graceful, his Nose was streight, and exquisitely proportioned to his Face; his Eyes were exactly fitted to his Features, being of a blue Colour and full of Sweetnefs; his Cheeks and Chin every Way delightful, while the other Parts of his Body were fo fitly united, that one could not but admire and love him the Moment he appeared; for his amiable Countenance, in which there was imprinted a natural Smile, could not fail to inspire the Spectators with a Warmth of Affection not to be accounted for: These Endowments of Body were but Indications of the Beauties of the nobler Part, and which, as he possessed them both in their highest Perfection, it is imagined, that all true Lovers of Liberty will imitate the Steps of him, who was the Darling of his Country, and whom human Nature may ever boast of, for having produced fo great a Son.

F I N I S.



